

MEXICAN PICTURE WRITINGS OF
ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT

By

Eduard Seler.

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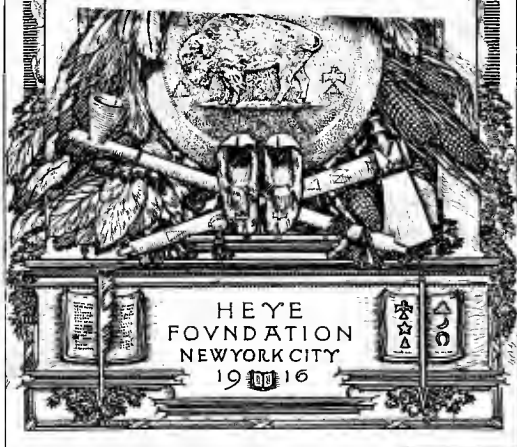
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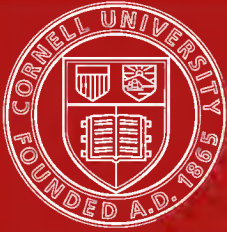


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THE MEXICAN PICTURE WRITINGS OF ALEXANDER
VON HUMBOLDT

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BY

EDUARD SELER

¹⁸⁴

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MEXICAN PICTURE WRITINGS OF ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT^a

By EDUARD SELER

PREFACE

The sixteen fragments of ancient Mexican picture writing, which are reproduced in colored plates, belong to a "remarkable collection made in the year 1803 in the kingdom of New Spain", which was "presented to the Royal Library by Baron Alexander von Humboldt, in January, 1806". This statement is made by Friedrich Wilken, on pages 155-156 of his *History of the Royal Library of Berlin*, printed in the year 1828. Wilken mentions "thirteen fragments of historical hieroglyphic writing of the Aztecs upon paper made from the fiber of the *Agave americana*, together with a codex 14 feet in length belonging to it, in similar hieroglyphic writing". The number does not correspond with the number of pieces now in the library, for, according to his statement, there should be but 14. The reason of this is that two of the original strips were cut in half, lengthwise, and pasted on the same folio page, side by side. These are the pieces shown in plates IX, X, XI, and XII, as I shall describe more in detail in the course of my explanation of these pieces. With the exception of fragment I, which has been preserved in its original form as "the folded codex", all the pieces are pasted upon folio pages and bound together in an atlas. The title page is reproduced in the heliotype atlas. It has been retained, although the historic and archeologic remarks which it contains do not harmonize with our present knowledge of these subjects.

Alexander von Humboldt, who copies and describes fragment II of the collection in his *Vues des Cordillères et Monuments des Peuples Indigènes de l'Amérique*, plate XII, under the title "Généalogie des Princes d'Azcapozalco", states that he bought the document in Mexico at the public sale of the collections of Gama (the well-known astronomer and author of the work *Las dos Piedras*, whose full name was Antonio de León y Gama). Humboldt suggests that

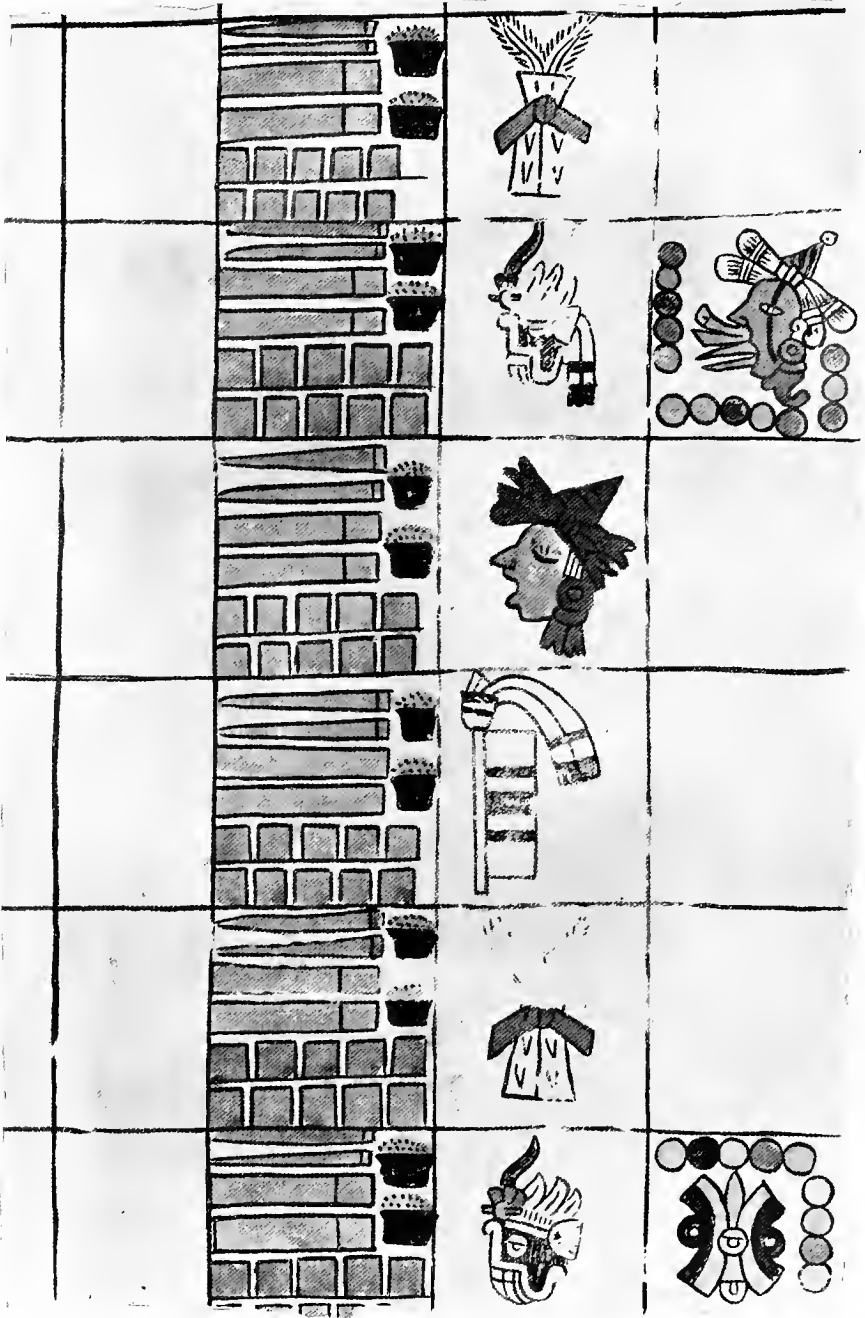
^aBerlin, 1893.

it may formerly have belonged to the "Museo Indiano" of the Milanese historian and antiquary, Cavaliere Lorenzo Boturini Bernaducci. Since various other of these fragments, as I shall hereafter show, certainly did belong to Boturini's collection, and we know that Gama actually knew of, used, and possessed a great part of Boturini's collection, we may venture to conjecture that the other pieces of the collection brought together by Alexander von Humboldt were acquired in the same way.

Fragments II and VI were published and described by von Humboldt in the above-mentioned illustrated work, *Vues des Cordillères et Monuments des Peuples Indigènes de l'Amérique*. Only a small part of fragment II, however, was reproduced, and that without the explanatory notes which accompany it, and neither of the two fragments was quite perfectly and correctly reproduced. Fragments I and II have also appeared in colors in the second volume of Kingsborough's great work, *Mexican Antiquities*. Fragment II, however, is without the explanatory notes. Close examination readily shows that neither is by any means accurately nor exactly reproduced, either in drawing or color. The whole collection was exhibited in the year 1888 in the rooms of the Royal Library, with the other manuscripts and printed matter relating to the history and languages of America, during the sessions of the International Americanist Congress at Berlin. The four hundredth anniversary of the day on which Columbus first trod the soil of the New World gave the managers of the Royal Library the desired opportunity to render the entire collection more accessible for general use by multiplying it, photographically at least, as their means did not then admit of reproduction in colors. To me was intrusted the honorable task of accompanying those pages with a few words of explanation, for which I herewith express my thanks to the administration of the Royal Library.

FRAGMENT I

This fragment (plates II to VI) is a strip of agave paper 4.3 m. long and somewhat more than 8 cm. wide, painted on one side and then folded fourteen times, thus making a book about a foot in length. The painted side is divided lengthwise by vertical lines into 5 strips, and by other lines cutting the former at right angles into 75 sections. I will designate the longitudinal strips from right to left by the letters A, B, C, D, and E (plates II to VI), and the subdivisions beginning at the bottom—for there the reading begins—by the figures 1 to 75. The lower end is imperfect. It is obvious that there was still another section below, which was painted in similar fashion and possibly formed the end of an entire missing row. The upper end looks as if it had been sharply cut off. As the entries of material objects



MEXICAN PAINTING—HUMBOLDT FRAGMENT I, PART 1

(columns c to e) cease in the fifth section from the top, it may be assumed that this was the end of the strip, and that it was not further written upon because, for some reason, the entries ceased altogether.

In column b four pictures follow one another in regular repetition. These I will designate by a, b, c, and d, proceeding from below upward. Thus we have a in sections 1, 5, 9, 13, etc., b in sections 2, 6, 10, 14, etc., c in 3, 7, 11, 15, etc., d in 4, 8, 12, 16, etc.

The picture a, plate II, shows a dark-colored face with a large round eye, a row of long tusks, and over the lips an angular blue stripe curved downward and rolled up at the ends. This is the familiar face of the rain, thunder, and mountain god of the Mexicans—Tlaloc by name—a face the features of which were supposed to be produced originally by the coils of two snakes, their mouths, with long fangs in the upper jaw, meeting in the middle of the upper lip.^a The face of the rain god here stands for his chief festival, the sixth (according to the usual reckoning) of the eighteen annual festivals of the Mexicans, known as Etzalqualiztli, that is, “when they eat bean food” (beans cooked with whole kernels of maize).^b

The second of the four pictures (b, column b) is a white strip painted over with black acute-angled figures, wound about with a red band, from which two yellow tufts protrude at the top. The white strip painted with angular figures represents a so-called teteuitl, or ama-teteuitl, a strip of white bark paper (the inner bark of a variety of fig) upon which certain figures are drawn with liquid caoutchouc. These teteuitl were in general use as sacrificial gifts. At the feast of the rain gods they were hung upon long poles in the courtyard of the house; ^c they were fastened on the breast of the small idols of the mountain gods,^d and were burned in honor of the fire gods.^e

These were easily prepared images of the gods to which they were offered. The picture of the god, or his symbol, was drawn on the paper with caoutchouc.^f The red band which is wound around the paper is a leather strap of the kind that were much used, either colored or gilded, as ribbons and for ornamental purposes.^g And, finally, the yellow tufts which protrude at the top represent a broom. These brooms were made of a hard, stiff, pointed grass, which was cut with sickles in the mountainous forests of Popocatepetl and Ajusco.^h The whole picture is a symbol of the old earth goddess called Toci, “our

^a See Seler, *Das Tonalamatl der Aubinschen Sammlung*, in *Comptes Rendus du Septième Session du Congrès International des Américanistes*, Berlin, 1888, p. 584.

^b See Durán, v. 3, sec. 6; Sahagun, v. 2, chap. 6.

^c Sahagun, v. 2, chaps. 20 and 35.

^d Sahagun, v. 2, chap. 32.

^e Sahagun, v. 9, chap. 3; v. 2, chap. 34.

^f See Sahagun, v. 9, chap. 3.

^g See the hieroglyph of Cuextlaxtlan, “The Laud of Leather”, in the Mendoza codex, v. 8, p. 21; v. 51, p. 1.

^h See Sahagun, v. 10, p. 24; v. 8, p. 61 (Bustamante edition), and a comment on the passage by the editor.

progenitrix", or Teteo innan, "mother of the gods", and of the eleventh (according to the usual reckoning) of the eighteen annual festivals of the Mexicans, Ochpaniztli, the "broom feast" or "house-cleaning festival", celebrated in honor of this goddess. For the broom, which symbolizes one of the first domestic, that is, feminine, occupations, was a special symbol of this goddess, who was therefore also the goddess of purity, of purification and eradication of sin.^a The teteuitl paper with which the broom is bound together is in our



FIG. 30. Headdresses and flags from Mexican codices.

picture b painted with figures which again denote an attribute of the same goddess. The Mexicans in their paintings represented the raw, unspun cotton by acute-angled figures or groups of parallel lines on a white ground. Cotton, as a material for woman's work, was for that reason one of the chief attributes of the above-mentioned deity. Her headband (see *a*, figure 30) called *i-ichcaxochiuh*, "her headband of cotton", was made of that material.^b A strip of unspun cotton hung from her ear peg and loose cotton was bound to the end of the spindle which she wore between the hair and the headband (*c* and *d*, figure 30).

^a Seler, *Das Tonalamatl der Aubinschen Sammlung*, volume cited, p. 651.

^b Veröffentlichungen aus dem Königlichen Museum für Völkerkunde, v. 1, p. 148.

In *c* and *d*, figure 30, we also see a paper covered with drawings of cotton fastened to the back of the goddess's head. That the paper in our picture *b*, painted with the acute-angled figures, is, like the broom, a symbol of the earth goddess is most clearly shown by the fact that the broom which, in her picture, the goddess Toci carries in her hand is wound round with paper similarly painted. Thus we see it in *b*, figure 30, which is taken from the picture in the Sahagun manuscript of the Bibliotheca del Palacio at Madrid, which represents the various ceremonies of the feast Ochpaniztli.

The third picture in the column, which I designate by *c* (plate II), represents a flag apparently made of striped woven stuff, with streamers of the same material fastened to its top. Such flags were, it seems, called quachpamitl—derived from quachtli, “a square piece of woven cloth”, and pamitl, “flag”. Among the Mexicans, as among the nations of the Old World, flags and other insignia played an important part in war. The Mexicans, however, as a rule, did not carry these insignia free in their hands, but strapped upon their backs, though it seems that flags of the same sort and shape as the one represented in our picture *c* were also waved in the hand. The signal for battle was given with them, as we learn from Sahagun. Thus we read in the Aztec manuscript of the Academia de la Historia at Madrid: “Yn quachpanitl, coztic teocuitlapanitl yoan quetzalpanitl, yn teeuitia yyaoc: yn omottac yê meuatiquetzaya izqui quachpanitl, niman cemeua yaoquizque ynic miccali”. Sahagun (book 8, chapter 12) translates it somewhat inexactly: Tambien usaban de unas vanderillas de oro, las cuales en tocando al arma las levantaban en las manos, porque comenzasen à pelear los soldados (“They also used certain golden flags, which, when the call to arms was sounded, they raised in their hands, because the soldiers began to fight”). The correct translation is as follows: “The flag of woven stuff, the flag of plates of gold, and the one made of quetzal feathers, they call the people in war time to prepare for battle. When men see how the quachpamitl (flags of woven stuff) are raised on every hand, then the warriors go forth to battle”. The raising of the flag, then, was the signal to begin battle. Panquetzaliztli, the raising of the flag, therefore, was the name of the festival—the fifteenth, according to the usual reckoning—which the Mexicans celebrated in honor of the god Uitzilopochtli, who was especially regarded as the god of combat and war. In Codices Telleriano-Remensis and Vaticanus A this festival is represented by the figure of the god himself holding a flag in his hand (*g*, figure 30), which shows essentially the same characteristics as the one in the picture *c*, plate II. Elsewhere the quachpanitl is painted by itself, as in later

calendars, from which I reproduce the figure with the legend in *e* and *f*, figure 30, and also in our picture *c*, plate II, which illustrates the fifteenth annual festival, the feast Panquetzalitzli.

Finally, the fourth picture, which I designated by *d*, plate II, shows us the head of a well-known deity, the red god Xipe, whose original home was near Yopi, in the deep ravines of the Pacific slope, but whose worship was widely spread throughout the highlands, and particularly in the capital, where it was celebrated with special pomp. It is a peculiar characteristic of this god that he goes about clad in a flayed human skin. Therefore, at his feast victims were not only slaughtered in the usual manner by tearing out the heart, which was offered up to him, but afterward the corpse was flayed and its skin put on by such persons as, for any reason, wished to show the god special devotion. It was worn by them continually during the twenty days following the festival. This feast, called Tlacaxipeualiztli, "man flaying"—the second, according to the usual reckoning—is represented in our picture *d* by the head of the god Xipe.

Thus we have in *a*, *b*, *c*, and *d* of column B, plates II and III, the pictures of four yearly festivals, namely, the sixth, eleventh, fifteenth, and second, according to the usual reckoning. The sixth feast was separated from the eleventh by 5×20 , or 100, days; the eleventh from the fifteenth by 4×20 , or 80, days; the fifteenth from the second by $5 \times 20 + 5$, or 105, days (in this interval fall the nemontemi, the five superfluous days, which were counted at the end of Izcalli), and, lastly, the second was 4×20 , or 80, days, distant from the sixth, giving a total of $100 + 80 + 105 + 80$, or 365. These four festivals, it is true, do not divide the year into four quarters, except approximately. It is as exact and regular as is possible in a year composed of eighteen parts of 20 days each and 5 superfluous days.

We will now consider column A (see plates II and III), the first on the right hand of the strip. Here we invariably find, together with the feast Etzalqualiztli (*a* of column B), a picture and several small circles, which express a certain number. Here, again, we have four pictures, which follow one another from below upward in regular alternation. I will designate these, beginning at the bottom, by α , β , γ , and δ .

The first character, α , is composed of an eye, a vertical ray, and two lateral parts, probably derived from the drawing of a cross, the arms of which cut each other at a somewhat acute angle. This is the symbol of the four cardinal points (see the variant of this character, *e*, figure 31, from the Sahagun manuscript of the Biblioteca Laurenziana), but may, perhaps, have some connection with the drawing often found on spindle whorls (see *a*, *b*, *c*, and *d*, same figure)

of two eyebrows surrounding the hole of the spindle, supposed to be the eye. Compare *k* and *l*, figure 31, taken from a list of persons in the towns of Uexotzinco and Xaltepetlapan (Mexican manuscript No 3 of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris) and denoting persons of the name of Olin. The whole character stands for the word olin, "that which rolls". It is the seventeenth of the twenty day signs of the Mexicans, and was regarded as standing in special relation to the sun. The form which the character takes in our picture α , plate II, most resembles that which we see in Codices Telleriano-Remensis and Vaticanus A (see *f*, figure 31), and it is not wholly without sig-

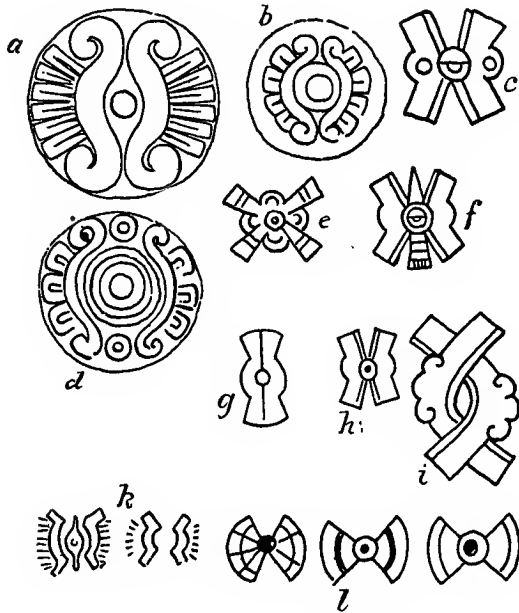


FIG. 31. Variations of the Mexican seventeenth day symbol.

nificance in deciding the question of the origin of the picture writing under consideration.

The second sign of column A, which I call β (plate II), represents the head of the wind god, Ehecatl, or Quetzalcoatl. He has a protruding, trumpetlike mouth, for the wind god blows (see also *c*, *d*, and *e*, figure 41). Generally speaking, this figure suggested whirls and circles. Hence his temples were built in circular form. The cap which he wears is cone-shaped. The ends of his headband and his breechclout are rounded. His head ornament is the spiral snail shell. He wears snail shells as a necklace, and his breast ornament, the ecalacatzcozcatl,^a as well as his ear ornament, is carved from a huge

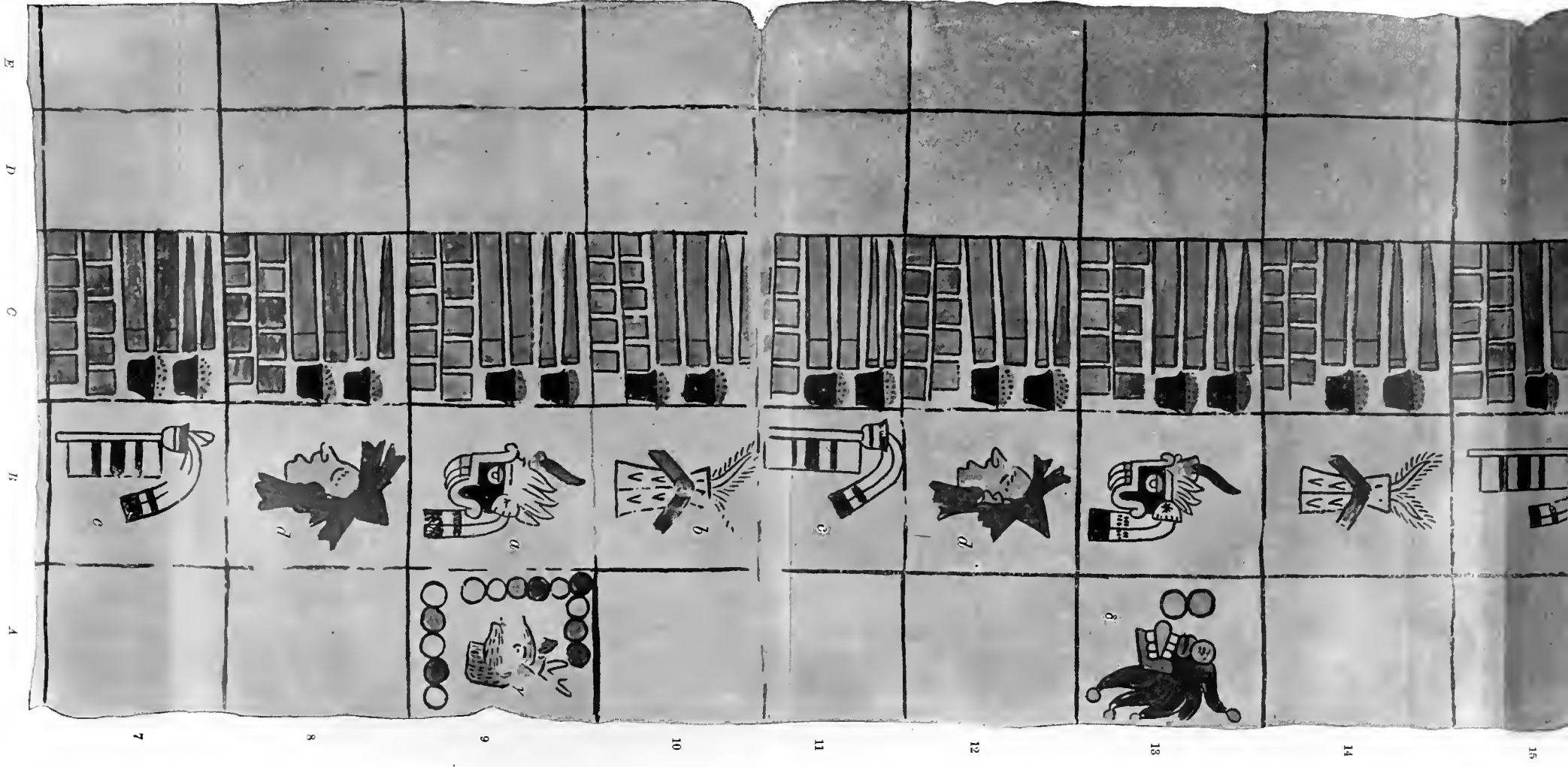
^a Veröffentlichungen aus dem Königlichen Museum für Völkerkunde zu Berlin, v. 1, pp. 128, 129.

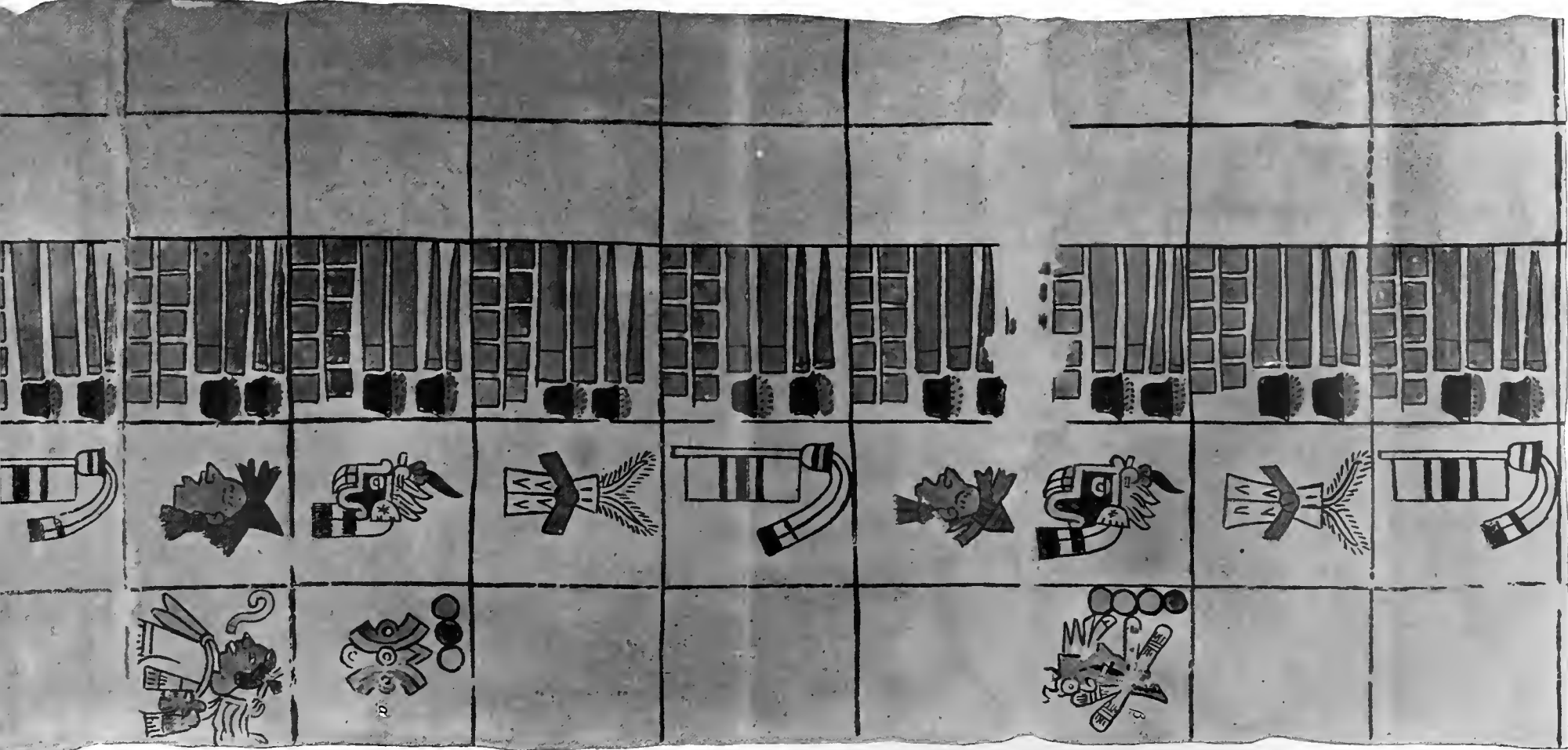
whelk shell. The head of the wind god here stands for the second of the twenty day signs of the Mexicans, which was called Ehecatl, "wind". The form which the character has in our figure likewise resembles most the form which is drawn in Codices Telleriano-Remensis and Vaticanus A.

The third sign (γ , plate III) in column A shows us the head of a deer, which is most unnaturally drawn, having upper incisors, but is plainly intended to represent a deer, as is shown by the branching antlers. The seventh of the twenty day signs of the Mexicans was designated by the picture of the deer (Mazatl).

The fourth sign, δ , is a death's-head, with fleshless jaw, a great, round eye with an eyebrow, and a protruding tongue, such a head as was customarily used among the Mexicans to represent death or the death god. But here the skull is covered with a green bush, the separate stalks of which end in small yellow knobs. This green bush represents grass, and is illustrative of the rope twisted of grass (malinalli), which has been used from remote antiquity down to the present day for cording heavy burdens, such as charcoal, etc. The whole denotes the twelfth of the twenty day signs of the Mexicans, called malinalli, "that which is twisted". The green bush is combined with the death's-head in this picture, because the rope twisted of grass suggested the mummy bales corded with rope, like a burden which has the form given to the bodies of the dead. Perhaps, too, the grass itself, shooting up anew with the first showers of rain and then withering quickly, awakened the thought of the transitoriness of earthly things. At any rate, it is a fact that malinalli was considered a sign of misfortune; that decay, destruction, and change were supposed to follow swiftly in its train. We may also note in regard to the form of the sign that our picture δ most closely resembles the forms in which this sign of ill omen, malinalli, is represented in Codices Telleriano-Remensis and Vaticanus A.

The Mexican numerical system was vigesimal. Therefore the number 20 naturally formed the basis of computation of time. The people designated each one of the 20 consecutive days by a particular sign. But with these twenty signs they combine the numerals 1 to 13 in such a way that each of the consecutive days was designated by a sign and a numeral. If, therefore, the numeral 1, combined with the first sign, served to designate the first day, then the fourteenth day took the fourteenth sign, and also the numeral 1 again. Thus a period of 13×20 , or 260, days was reached as a higher chronologic unit. For no day received the same numeral and the same sign until after the expiration of this period. The period of 13×20 , or 260, days was called tonalamatl, "the book of the day signs".





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OLDT FRAGMENT I, PART 2

The Mexicans reckoned 365 days to the year, and I have already stated that they divided the year into eighteen periods of 20 days each and 5 superfluous days, called *nemontemi*. These 5 superfluous days were regarded as unlucky days, as useless, fit for no serious business. Hence the ancient Mexicans said of them "*acām pouhqui*". This undoubtedly means "they were held in no esteem", but according to the original meaning of the words they may also signify "they were not counted". It has therefore been inferred that these 5 days were left blank; that the continuous series of signs and numerals was not applied to them. In an article which I presented to the Anthropologic Society at Berlin in the year 1891,^a I pointed out that the whole Mexican system of designating the year—namely, that the consecutive days were designated by four signs, each two of which were 4 days apart—and the Mexican periods of 52 years were intelligible only if we assume that the 5 *nemontemi*, the superfluous days, were named and numbered in the same way as the others. Our manuscript, plate I of the present series, affords the best proof of this theory.

In column B the pictures follow in regular alternation, and approximately denote the beginning of every quarter of a year for a consecutive series of years. Besides the first of these, the symbol of the feast *Etzalqualiztli*, there are in column A numerals and signs which, taken together, denote each the date of a certain day. In the lowest of them, in square 1A (plate II), the small circles, which represent the numerals, are imperfectly preserved. But from what remains, and from the connection of the whole series, it may be inferred that the numeral 12 should stand here. If we introduce this numeral we see that in column A (side by side with the *Etzalqualiztli* of column B, plates II to VI) the following dates of days are given:

Olin	Ehecatl	Mazatl	Malinalli
12	13	14	2
3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14
2	3	4	--

Here the numeral 14,^b which does not really belong to the designation of the days, is invariably to be read as "1", for only the numerals 1 to 13, as I have stated, are used in addition to the twenty characters to designate the consecutive days.

^a *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, v. 13, pp. 89-133.

^b The 14 in the manuscript is an error of the native artist. C. T.

TABLE III.

	Etz'alqualiztli	Tecuilhuitonli	Uei tecuilhuitl	Tlaxochimaco	Xocuetzi	Ochpaniztli	Teotleco	Tepelhuit	Quecholl	Panquetzaliztli	Atemoztli	Tititli	Izcalli	Nemontemi	Aticauaco	Tlaxacipeñaliztli	Tozontotli	Uei tocoztli	Toxcatl	Etz'alqualiztli
Olein	12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5		12	8	13	7	1	8
Tecpatl	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12		6	13	7	1	8	2	9
Quiauitl	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13		7	1	8	2	9	3	10
Xochitl	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1		8	2	9	3	10	4	11
Cipactli	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2		9	3	10	4	11	5	12
Ehecatl	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3		10	4	11	5	12	6	13
Calli	5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4		10	5	12	6	13	7	
Cuetzpalin	6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5		11	6	13	7	1	8	
Coatl	7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6		12	7	1	8	2	9	
Miquiztli	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7		13	8	2	9	3	10	
Mazatl	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8			9	3	10	4	11	
Tochtli	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9		3	10	4	11	5	12	
Atl	11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10		4	11	5	12	6	13	
Itzcuintli	12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11		5	12	6	13	7	1	
Ozomatli	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12		6	13	7	1	8	2	
Malinalli	1	8	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13		7	1	8	2	9	3	
Acatl	2	9	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1		8	2	9	3	10	4	
Ocelotl	3	10	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2		9	3	10	4	11	5	
Quauhtli	4	11	5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3		10	4	11	5	12	6	
Cozcaquauhtli	5	12	6	13	7	1	8	2	9	3	10	4		11	5	12	6	13	7	

If, after making this correction, we consult a table of the Mexican calendar, we see, assuming that the 5 nemontemi were named and numbered continuously in the same way as the other days, that the dates of the days given in column A are always exactly 365 days apart.

This, I think, clearly proves, first, that the pictures drawn in column B are actually the beginnings of quarters of years, and the different pictures A are meant to show the annual recurrence of the feast Etz'alqualiztli; second, that the statement that the 5 nemontemi were not counted can rest only on a misunderstanding.

But our manuscript is of importance to chronology in yet another respect. It is well known that the Mexicans called their years by the four day signs Acatl, "reed"; Tecpatl, "flint"; Calli, "house", and Tochtli, "rabbit", which they combined with the numerals 1 to 13 in the same way as in naming the days.

TABLE IV.

1 Acatl	1 Tecpatl	1 Calli	1 Tochtli	1 Acatl
2 Tecpatl	2 Calli	2 Tochtli	2 Acatl	and so on
3 Calli	3 Tochtli	3 Acatl	3 Tecpatl	as before.
4 Tochtli	4 Acatl	4 Tecpatl	4 Calli	
5 Acatl	5 Tecpatl	5 Calli	5 Tochtli	
6 Tecpatl	6 Calli	6 Tochtli	6 Acatl	
7 Calli	7 Tochtli	7 Acatl	7 Tecpatl	
8 Tochtli	8 Acatl	8 Tecpatl	8 Calli	
9 Acatl	9 Tecpatl	9 Calli	9 Tochtli	
10 Tecpatl	10 Calli	10 Tochtli	10 Acatl	
11 Calli	11 Tochtli	11 Acatl	11 Tecpatl	
12 Tochtli	12 Acatl	12 Tecpatl	12 Calli	
13 Acatl	13 Tecpatl	13 Calli	13 Tochtli	

In my treatise, already mentioned above,^a I laid stress on the fact that the origin of this nomenclature lies in the acceptance of a year of 365 days, and that the years were simply named after a certain leading day. In fact, if we assume, for instance, that in one year the leading day was the second one in table III, page 136, bearing the sign Tecpatl and the numeral 13, then in the next year, that is, after the lapse of 365 days, the same day would take the sign Calli and the numeral 1, and so on. Now, at the outset it is most natural to suppose that this leading day, from which the year was first named, was the first day of the year, and that the first days of the consecutive years bore the signs Acatl, Tecpatl, Calli, and Tochtli. It can not well be denied, as I demonstrated in the above-mentioned article,^b that at the time and place it first occurred to scholars that only four of the twenty day signs fell upon the first days of the years, it was those very days Acatl, Tecpatl, Calli, and Tochtli with which the years then and in that place began, or at least that these days were then and in that place, for whatsoever reason, chosen as the first days of the years. To be sure, the admission of this contradicts the assertions of Durán and those of Cristóbal del Castillo, quoted and used by León y Gama, as these make the Mexican year begin with Cipactli, that is, with Cipactli, Miquiztli, Ozomatli, and Cozcaquauhli, respectively. But I saw an indirect proof of my theory in the circumstance that ancient records from two remote and widely separated places, Meztitlan on the borders of Huasteca and Nicaragua, made the series of twenty day signs begin with Acatl; and I furnished a direct proof by showing that in the Mayan manuscript at Dresden the years do not indeed begin with Kan, Muluc, Ix, and Cauac, with which, according to Landa and the books of Chilam Balam, the Mayas began their years in later times, but with Been, Ezanab, Akbal, and Lamat,

^a Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1891, v. 22.

^b Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, v. 23, p. 102.

the characters which correspond to the Mexican Acatl, Tecpatl, Calli, and Tochtli.

It is true our manuscript (plate 1) does not mention the first days of the years, but in column A it gives the days on which the sixth feast of the year, Etzalqualiztli, fell.

We know that in the so-called months, or periods of 20 days, which were named for the various yearly festivals, the actual feast of the respective name always fell on the last day of the period. If, therefore, as our column A shows, in the 19 years presented here the feast Etzalqualiztli, the sixth festival of the year, fell on the days

Olein	Ehecatl	Mazatl	Malinalli
12	13	1	2
3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10
11	12	13	1
2	3	4	

then it directly follows that the first day of the seventh period (named for the feast Tecuilhuitontli) must fall on the days

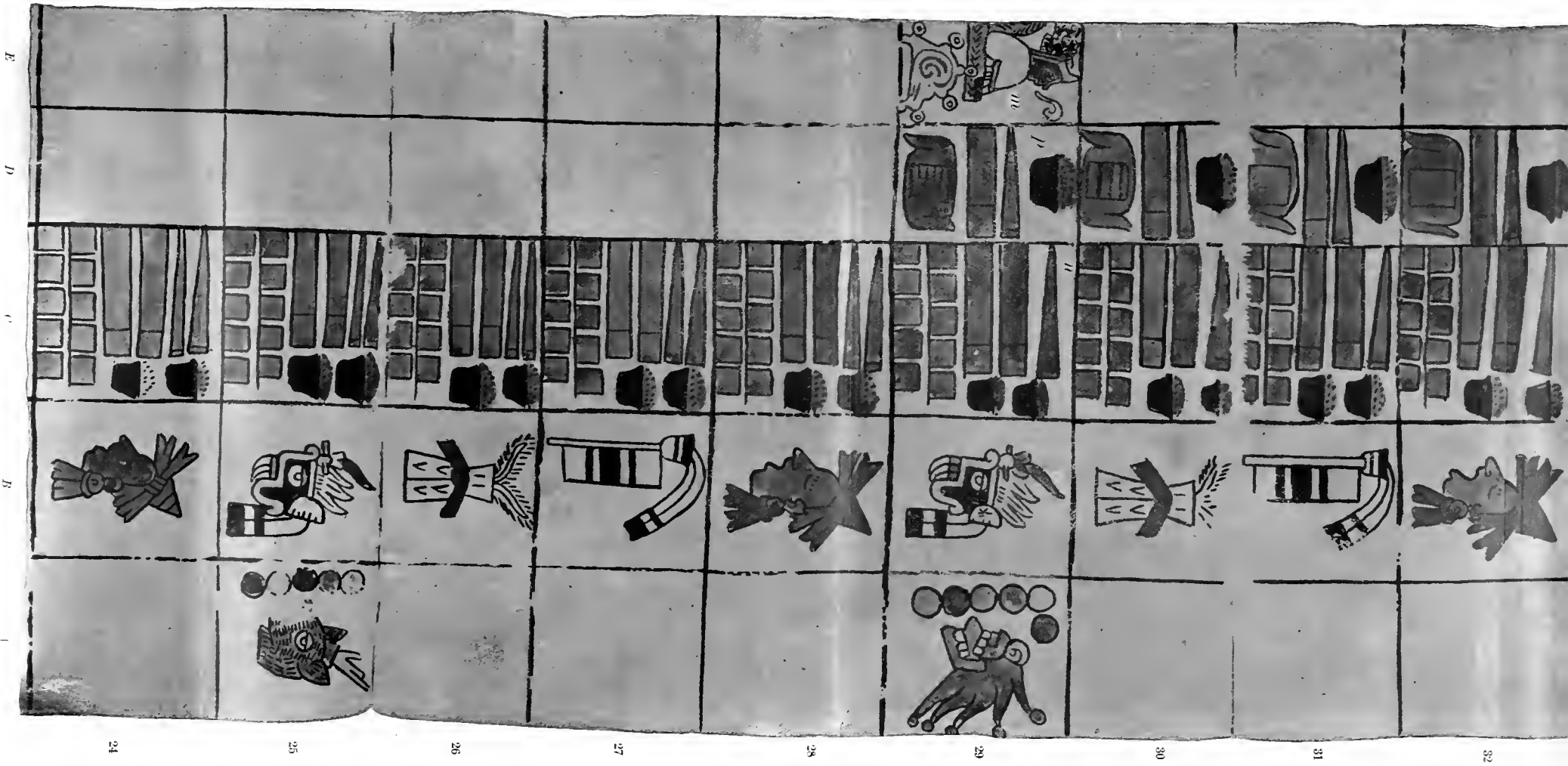
Tecpatl	Calli	Tochtli	Acatl
13	1	2	3
4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11
12	13	1	2
3	4	5	

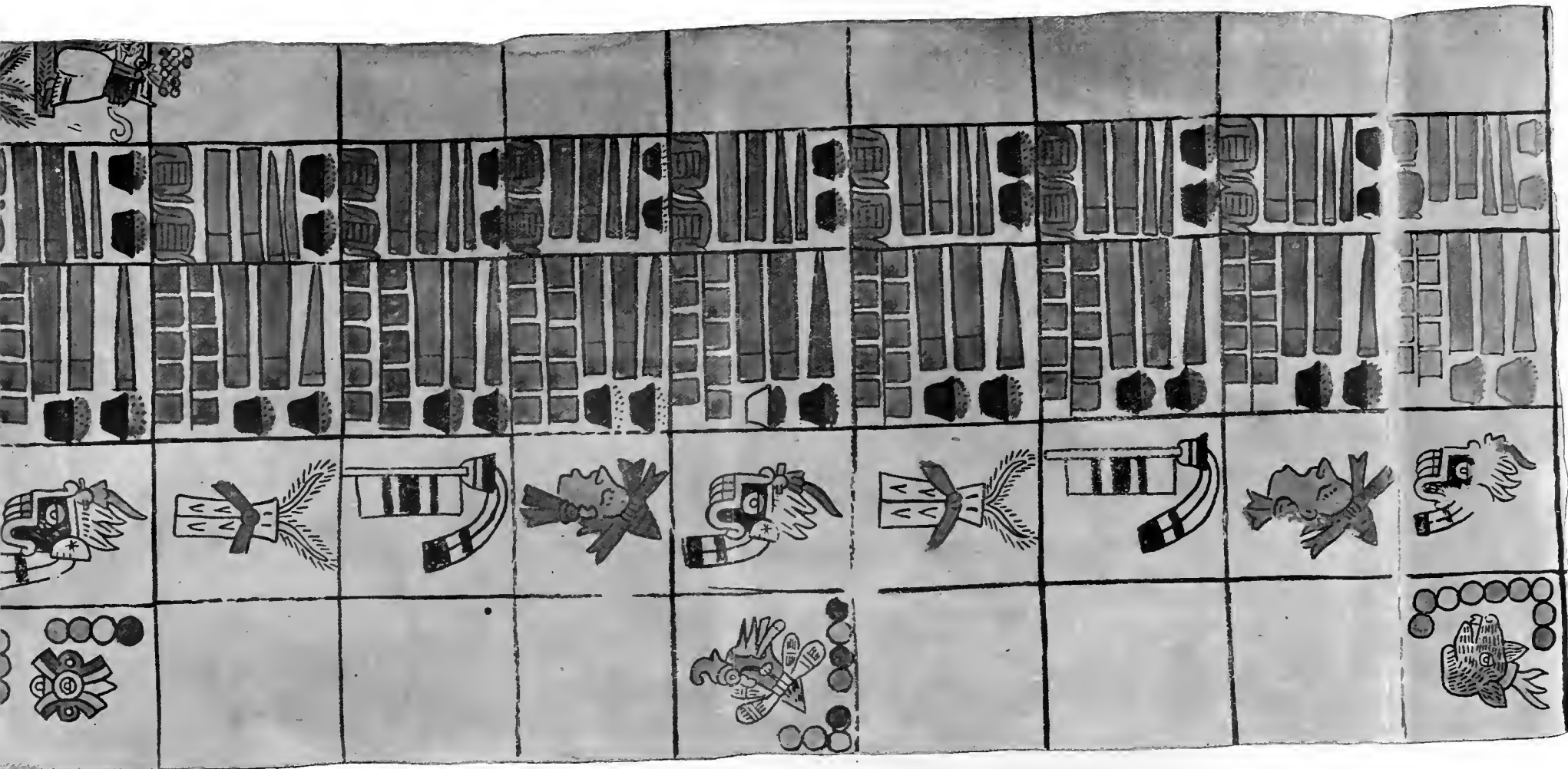
And if, with Sahagun, we put the beginning of the year on the first day of the period named for the feast Atlcaualco we shall have the following series for the first days of these 19 years:

Tecpatl	Calli	Tochtli	Acatl
10	11	12	13
1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12
13	1	2	

From our manuscript, which, so far as I know, is the only Mexican manuscript that contains a long series of years, or, more exactly speaking, dates of days extending over a long series of years, it therefore follows positively that the Mexicans began their years with the characters Acatl, Tecpatl, Calli, and Tochtli, just as the Maya priests who wrote the Dresden manuscript began their years with the days corresponding to the same four characters.

This result, which I reached on grounds of a more general nature, and which, as we see, is directly obtainable from our manuscript, has been still further confirmed by evidence very recently published. At the last session of the Americanist congress which met at Huelva Mrs. Zelia Nuttall exhibited upon a large chart a recon-





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struction devised by her of the Mexican calendar, further particulars concerning which she has reserved. Upon this chart was the following passage from an important Mexican picture manuscript, which belongs to the Biblioteca Nazionale at Florence, and which will soon be published in facsimile by Mrs Nuttall: Es de notar que siempre comienza el año en un dia de quatro, el uno que llaman acatl. Y de alli toman nonbre. O en otro que llaman calli. Y de alli toman nonbre. O en otro que llaman tecpatl. Y de alli toman nonbre. Y de otro que llaman tochtli. Y de alli toman nonbre ("It is to be noted that the year always begins on one of four days—the one which they call Acatl, and from there they take the name; or on another which they call Calli, and from there they take the name; or on another which they call Tecpatl, and from there they take the name; and from another which they call Tochtli, and from there they take the name"). This is clear and intelligible, and Mrs Nuttall has correctly made this passage the starting point for her researches.

It is quite another question, and one which I must touch upon here, whether the month Atlcaualco, stated by Sahagun and others to be the first month of the year, is really the one which was the leading, or first, month at the time when the designation of the years, according to the four days Acatl, Tecpatl, Calli, and Tochtli, first came into use. This question, it seems, should be answered in the negative.

The most important statement by the old writers which makes an agreement between the Mexican and our chronology and a comparison of the Mexican designations of the years with certain days of any one year possible is that made in Sahagun, book 12, chapter 40, where it is stated that the capture of Quauhtemoctzin, which put an end to the desperate defense of the city of Mexico, occurred on the day ce Coatl, "1 snake", of the year yei Calli, "3 house": Auhin omoman chimalli inic tixitine in xiuhtonalli ei calli, auh in cemilhuilapoalli ce Coatl ("When the shield was laid down (the war ceased), while we fell to the ground, that was the year '3 house' and the day '1 snake'"). (Biblioteca Lorenziana manuscript.) This day was, as we know from the letters of Cortes and Gomara's history, Tuesday, St. Hippolytus's day, August 13, 1521.^a The Aztec writer Chimalpahin says the same thing in his Seventh Relation: Yheuc canque yn tlatohuani Cuauhtemoctzin ypan cemilhuiltonalli ce cohuatl * * * ic matlactlomey mani metztli agosto, ypan ylhuitzin S. Tipolito, martyr ("They took King Quauhtemoctzin prisoner on the day '1 snake' * * * on the 13th day of August, the feast of the holy martyr Hippolytus").^b On the basis of this statement Orozco y Berra, in the second volume of his *Historia Antigua y de la Conquista de México*, tried to find an agreement between the Mexican and Euro-

^a *Cartas de Hernan Cortés*, ed. Gayangos, Paris, 1866, p. 257; Gomara, *Crónica*, chap. 143.

^b *Anales de Domingo Francisco de San Anton Muñoz Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin. Seventh Relation*, edid. Rémi Siméon, p. 194.

pean chronologies; but the attempt failed in the most essential points, since Orozco favored the erroneous view that the Mexicans began their years, and therefore also what they called their months, with the days Cipactli, Miquiztli, Ozomatli, and Cozcaquauhtli.

In order to make the matter clear, I will mention still another point of agreement. In the Seventh Relation of Chimalpahin (page 188 of Rémi Siméon's edition) we read that the entrance of Hernan Cortes into Mexico and his reception by the kings of the three allied kingdoms, Mexico, Tetzcoco, and Tlacopan, took place on the day chicuey Ehecatl, "8 wind", the ninth day of the month Quecholli: "ypan cem ilhuitlapohualli chicuey ehcatl, auh yn ipan ynin metztlapohual catca huehuetque chiucnahuilhuitia quecholli". We have also a statement in regard to the same day in the Aztec account which is preserved in the Sahagun manuscript of the Biblioteca Lorenziana. This latter account agrees with the former in stating that the coming of the Spanish occurred in the year ce Acatl, "1 reed", on the 9th of the month Quecholli—or, as the author says, on the eve of the 10th of the month Quecholli—but it differs from it in saying that this day was not designated as a day "8 wind", but as ce Ehecatl, "1 wind", and that would be a day 20 days previous to the other: "auh in izquilhuitico in Mexico in ic calaquico in Españoles: ipan ce hecatl in cemilhuitlapoalli: auh in xiuh-tonalli ce acatl, oc muztla tlamatlactiz quecholli: auh in cemilhuitique ome calli: vel iquac in tlamatlactli quecholli". If we consult Spanish historians we find, in Bernal Díaz del Castillo's *Historia Verdadera*, the day of the Spanish entrance given as November 8 of the year 1519.

The writer of the account in the Sahagun manuscript continues his computation from the date given above by counting each month, to which fact I would call attention here. This was, no doubt, the usual historic chronology, for on page 136 of Codex Vaticanus A we see the months which elapsed during the stay of the Spaniards in the city similarly set down. The writer of the Sahagun account reckons in this way to the feast Toxcatl, when Alvarado fell upon the unarmed Mexicans decked for the feast and slaughtered the flower of the Mexican nobility, and then onward to the feast Tecuilhuitontli, that is, the completion of the month Tecuilhuitontli. On this day, he says, the Spanish fled by night from the city: "Niman quivaltoquilia tecuilhuitontli, ie oncan in quizque, vel ipan in ilhuitl in quizque in Españoles in moioalpoloque". There were altogether, he says, 235 days, that is, 195 days during which the Spaniards and Mexicans were friends and 40 days during which they fought each other. Computed accurately this can not mean the feast Tecuilhuitontli itself, but the eve of the feast. For counting 235 days from the ninth day of the month Quecholli we come to the 19th and not to

the 20th, the last day of the month Tecuilhuitontli. The Spaniards probably left the hostile city on the night before the feast, and the narrator counts the whole days which lay between the ninth day of Quecholli and the feast Tecuilhuitontli. It can be computed with tolerable accuracy that this day, the "noche triste" of unhallowed memory to the Spanish, was the 30th of June, 1520.^a But from November 8, 1519, to June 30, 1520, there are actually 235 days, since 1520 was a leap year. The authenticated European chronology and that of our Indian informant thus agree perfectly.

If we now compare these newly acquired dates with the one first quoted, the day of Quauhtemoc's capture, we have the following computation: Between November 8, 1519, and August 13, 1521, there elapsed 644 days. If we count 644 days from the 9th day of Quecholli in the Indian calendar of feasts, in doing which we should take into account that the Mexicans had no leap years, we come to the third day of the month Xocotluetzi. We must conclude that in the Indian calendar of feasts this was the day of Quauhtemoc's capture.

But now, before I draw further conclusions from this result, I must mention that it contradicts certain other records. According to an account quoted by León y Gama ^b Quauhtemoc's capture did not take place in the month Xocotluetzi, but in Nexochimaco, or Tlaxochimaco, the preceding month. Chimalpahin seems to make a similar statement, for he says, in the passage from which I quoted above: Auh yye ohuacic nauhpohuallonmatlaqu-ilhuitl yn otechicalque tlaxochimaco yye . . . yc tixitinqué ("after they had striven against us 90 days, we at last surrendered in Tlaxochimaco (?)").

It is obvious that this can not be reconciled with the statements mentioned above. As, however, those other statements are to a certain extent controlled by European computation, it is very possible that there is an error here, the more so because, by our calculation, the day of Quauhtemoc's capture was comparatively close to the feast Tlaxochimaco, being on the third day following it. The beginning of the battle and the appearance of the Spanish caravels at Nonoucalco, which, according to Chimalpahin's repeated assertion, occurred 90 days before, are placed by Chimalpahin in the month Toxcatl. This coincides with our reckoning. But when he says in the passage in question ^c that it was on the day ce Cozcaquauhtli, "1 king vulture", it is incorrect. It is undoubtedly a slip of the pen or, perhaps, an error in reading. It should rather be ei Cozcaquauhtli,

^a The letter of Cortes states that the army reached Tlaxcala on the 8th of July, and from the general's accurate account of their progress each day it appears that they left the capital on the last night of June, or rather the morning of July 1 (Prescott, *Hist. Conquest Mexico*)

^b *Dos Piedras*, 2d ed., p. 79, note, and p. 80.

^c Page 193 of the Rémi Siméon edition.

"3 king vulture". This latter day occurs 90 days before the day ce Coatl, the day of Quauhtemoc's capture.

Now, if the day of Quauhtemoc's capture was August 13, 1521, the third day of the month Xocotluetzi, it follows, as this was said to have been likewise a day ce Coatl, "1 snake", that the first day of the month must have been the day 12 Calli and the first day of the year 1 Calli. Hence it follows, as I stated above, and as can safely be concluded from the dates in our manuscript, that the years of the Mexicans began with the signs Acatl, Tecpatl, Calli, and Tochtl, and not, as was hitherto generally supposed, with the signs Cipactli, Miquiztli, Ozomatli, and Cozcaquauhtli; and it follows, since the year 1521 is said to have been a year 3 Calli, that the years of the Mexicans were not named for the first day of the first month, Atlcaualco, as has been commonly believed, but, as the computation shows, for the first day of the fifth month, on whose last day the feast Toxcatl was celebrated; lastly, it follows that the beginning of the month Atlcaualco in the year of the conquest did not fall on the 2d of February, as was decided after much discussion at the Indian conference held at Tlatelalco in Sahagun's time,^a but that it must have fallen on the 12th of February. The latter result is of special importance because it proves that in the forty odd years which elapsed between the year of the conquest and the time when the Sahagun manuscript was composed^b the beginning of the Mexican year was set forward 10 days. This is exactly the sum of the intercalary days, which occur in this period of time, and proves that the Mexicans did not know how to regulate their chronology by intercalations at short intervals.

If this is firmly established, then we may further conclude that the day of the arrival of the Spaniards, said to have been the ninth day of the month Quecholli, can have been neither 8 Ehecatl (as Chimalpahin states) nor 1 Ehecatl (as the writer of the account in the Sahagun manuscript asserts), but must have been the day before 7 Cipactli or 13 Cipactli. Otherwise, the month must have begun with a day Ocelotl, which, as we have seen, is incorrect. But if from 1 Coatl, the day of Quauhtemoc's capture, we count 644 days backward in the Indian calendar we do not arrive at 1 Cipactli, but at 7 Cipactli. Chimalpahin's statement was, therefore, relatively correct (within 1 day), and the writer of the account in the Sahagun manuscript made an error of 20 days. The only explanation I can give for the fact that both sources agree in mentioning a day Ehecatl instead of a day Cipactli is that tradition confused the day and its eve or that the name of the day was not held fast by tradition, but was only recov-

^a See Sahagun, v. 7, chap. 12.

^b In the Sahagun manuscript of the Academia de la Historia the year ome Acatl (= A. D. 1559) is given as the year of writing down at least certain parts (the historical ones) of the manuscript.

ered by computation, and that perhaps in doing this they reckoned back not 644, but 643, days, possibly because leap year was not taken into account.

If this be denied, and if the assertions of Chimalpahin and the account in the Sahagun manuscript that the ninth day of the month Quecholli was a day Ehecatl—the only statements to my knowledge where there is a distinct agreement between the day of the month and the name of the day—be considered correct, we should arrive at the days Ocelotl, Quiauitl, Cuetzpalin, and Atl as the first days of the years named for the characters Acatl, Tecpatl, Calli, and Tochtl. This result is at first sight rather attractive. We should thus arrive at precisely the characters which answer to the signs *Ix*, *Cauac*, *Kan*, and *Muluc*, with which the Mayas began their years in later times. It would then follow that the correction which was made by the Mayas also found acceptance among the Mexicans. I believe, however, since there are no other proofs, and since our computation is upheld by the statements of historians, that if the ninth day of Quecholli had been a day Ehecatl only 643 days would have elapsed before the capture of Quauhtemoc, and then one of the two above dates, that given by Bernal Díaz or that given by Cortes, would have to be corrected; and since reasons of a general nature, as I have said before, favor the view I have advanced we must not lay too much stress on this one assertion, especially as an error seems very probable. As I have already said, it is our manuscript, with its festival dates running through nearly nineteen years, which furnishes decisive evidence. Chimalpahin wrote at the beginning of the seventeenth century and the Sahagun manuscript was composed about the year 1559. At those periods the ancient mode of reckoning the festival dates had long since fallen into disuse. The manuscript of the Humboldt collection is of ancient date, as is shown by the style of the drawing and by the dress of the figures. Its testimony is of decisive value.

After settling these points, which are generally necessary and also useful for the proper understanding of our manuscript, I now return to the dates given in columns *A* and *B* of our manuscript. In the beginning of this chapter I mentioned that the lower part of the manuscript is incomplete, that the upper part seems to be the actual end of the strip, and that the strip was not further written upon because, for some reason, entries were no longer made. It would be interesting if we could determine to which one of our years the year corresponds in which the last entries were made. The entries of material objects, of whose nature I shall speak directly, fill columns *C* and *E*. The last entries were made, as a glance at the manuscript shows, in the month Ochpaniztli of that year in which the feast Etzalqualiztli was celebrated on the day 3 Ehecatl. In this year, as

I have already stated above, the first day of the first month (according to the usual method of calculation) fell on the day 1 Calli. And this is precisely the year designated by the numeral 3 and the sign Calli, in *xiuh-tonalli ei calli*, which corresponds to the year 1521 of our chronology, in which Quauhtemoc surrendered himself and the ruins of the city of Mexico to the victorious Cortes. The last entries of material objects in our manuscript were made on the feast Ochpaniztli of that year, about 37 days after the fall of the city of Mexico.

I shall now proceed to discuss the nature of these entries of material objects. They begin at the bottom of column c and for the first 28 squares are confined to this column alone. From the twenty-ninth square on other entries occur, which fill column d, and from the forty-fifth square on the last column, e, is also filled with entries.

These entries doubtless record entrance duties or other revenues, which were payable quarterly in equal amounts. They embrace five classes of objects: (1) small square plates, which are always entered by tens; (2) oblong rectangular strips, which occur singly or in pairs; (3) narrow triangular strips, which occur singly, in pairs, or in fours; (4) shallow bowls filled with some powdered substance, which are set down singly or in pairs, and (5) bundles of textiles or articles of clothing, which also occur singly or in pairs.

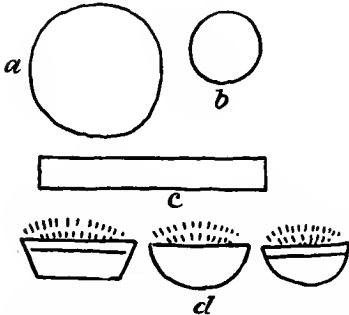


FIG. 32. Symbols of gold bars, plates, and bowls of gold dust from Mexican codices.

All are painted in the same brownish-yellow color, except that in class 4 the bowls are frequently distinguished by a darker greenish coloring from the yellow contents.

The small number of articles of each class which were to be delivered during the quarter leads to the supposition that they were articles of value. Indeed, I am of opinion that class 1 means bars of gold; classes 2 and 3, gold plates of special forms; class 4, bowls of gold dust; and class 5, woven coverlets and articles of clothing, which were also used as a medium of exchange, as money. Bars of gold (*a* and *b*, figure 32), gold plates (*c*, figure 32), and bowls of gold dust (*d*, figure 32) are enumerated in the tribute list and in the Mendoza codex among the tributes of the cities of Mixteca alta and baja: *a* is described as "tiles of fine gold, of the size of a plate and as thick as a man's thumb"; *b* is called "golden tiles, of the size of a consecrated wafer and the thickness of a man's finger"; at *c* is shown "a small gold plate four fingers wide and three-fourths of an ell long, of the thickness of a sheet of parchment"; the symbols marked *d* represent "bowls (*jicaras*) of gold dust".

As to the sum of the articles delivered during every quarter of a year, in the first twenty-eight quarters, during which entries were made only in column *c*, 10 gold bars, 2 square and 2 triangular gold plates, and 2 bowls of gold dust were delivered in every quarter. Beginning with the twenty-ninth quarter, that is, if our computations given above be correct, beginning with the year 1511, there was a new payer of tribute, as it seems, the chieftain of a city, who is represented in column *e* (*m*, plate iv) at full length, with his name hieroglyph and the hieroglyph of the city itself. In the principal column, *c* (*n*, plate iv), the sum of the payments delivered every quarter is lessened by one long triangular plate; but, on the other hand, we find in column *d* (*p*, plate iv), beginning with this square, entries for every quarter of a year consisting of a bundle of textiles, a square and a long triangular gold plate, and a bowl of gold dust. Beginning with the thirty-third square, in the year 1512, a second new tributary seems to have been added, the chieftain of the city of Zacatlan, who is also portrayed in column *e* (*q*, plate iv) at full length, with his name hieroglyph and the hieroglyph of his city. From this square onward, the amounts paid during every quarter are doubled in column *d*. There are 2 bundles of textiles, 2 oblong rectangular and 2 long triangular gold plates, and 2 bowls of gold dust. Beginning with the forty-fifth square, three years later (1515), we have a third new tributary, the chieftain of Tenanco, who is depicted in the corresponding section of column *e* (*r*, plate v) at full length, with his name hieroglyph and the hieroglyph of the city of Tenanco. After this section the amount of tribute paid in each quarter is increased by a bale of articles of clothing, 2 long triangular gold plates, and a bowl of gold dust, which are regularly entered in the fifth column, *e*. And finally, beginning with the sixtieth section, the month Tlacaxipeualiztli of the year 1519, the last payments, those set down in column *e* (plate vi), are also doubled. This is the first section in column *d* in which a figure occurs. Thus the entries go on uniformly up to the seventieth section, the last in which entries were made.

The question now arises, To whom were these regular quarterly payments made which are entered in columns *c* to *e*. At the outset, it should not be supposed that the name of the receiver of the tribute, whether a city, a king, or a temple, or whatever else, is given on the tribute list, for the entries were undoubtedly made on a list which was in the hands of the receiver of the tribute. Thus, in the well-known list of tribute paid to the kings of Mexico neither the kings nor the city of Mexico are mentioned. On the first page of the tribute list (Mendoza codex, page 19) the last Tlatelolcan kings are only mentioned incidentally, together with the contemporaneous Mexican monarchs. However, our manuscript is not a tribute list like those just

mentioned, which enumerated the tribute to be paid by the various cities. Our manuscript is a cashbook, in which an account is kept of the receipts of the year. It is a kind of financial record, and as such naturally afforded opportunity for other historical entries. Besides the additions of new tributaries already mentioned these consist of the notices of deaths and of the successors of the deceased. Deaths are expressed in the manner usual in Mexican picture annals, by a mummy bundle, with a name hieroglyph, usually seated in a chair like a living person. Accession to office is expressed by the figure of the living person, with his name hieroglyph, seated according to his rank, either on a simple straw seat, or on the royal chair provided with a back; for *omotlali*, "he has taken his seat", or *motlatocatlali*, "he has seated himself as a ruler", are the expressions by which the Mexicans described accession to power. Where it is a question of actual rulers, authority is usually expressed by the little tongue in front of the mouth, which in Mexican paintings was a symbol of speech; for *tlahtouani*, "he who speaks", was the Mexican name for a ruler or king.

The most important of these figures are undoubtedly those which appear in column A, the first, counting from the right. For here, in a conspicuous place, we may expect to find the names and the dates of accession to power of those men who lived where these lists were prepared, and who were therefore the actual recipients of the tribute. It is important to note here that of the four figures of living persons who are portrayed in this column only the one in square 53 wears the *xiuhuitzolli*, the turquoise mosaic headband of secular rulers and nobles, and is characterized as of higher rank, as a king, by the straw seat with a back. The other three have the hair merely bound with a strap, their seat is without a back, and they bear on their backs, by a cord slung round the neck and knotted in front, a small yellow object flanked by two large gay tassels. This object is the so-called *ie-quachtli*, the "tobacco cloth", a small pouch (*taleguilla*), in which the priests carried the incense pellets. The cord with the tassels, to which the pouch is attached, is called *mecacozcatl*, "necklace of agave-fiber rope". The little pouch is called *ie-quachtli*, "tobacco cloth", because the incense pellets, which are called *yaqualli* and described as pills or pellets shaped like mouse droppings, were made of "tinta"; that is, probably of *yauhtli*, or *iauh-tli*, "incense plant",^a mixed with pulverized tobacco leaves *con polvos de una yerba que ellos llaman yietl, que es como beleños de castilla* ("with dust of an herb which they call *yietl*, which is like henbane").^b Tobacco

^a One meaning of the syllable *iauh* is "incense plant". Compare Sahagun, v. 2, pp. 25, 35, and the hieroglyph of *Yauhtepec* in the Mendoza codex, v. 26, p. 14. But it also means "black": *yauh-tlaulli*, "mayz moreno ó negro" (Molina).

^b Sahagun, v. 2, p. 25.

played precisely the same part among the priests and medicine men of ancient Mexico as it has from the remotest times down to the present day among the various savage tribes of North and South America.

The tobacco pouch (ie-quachtli) or tobacco calabash (ie-tecomatl) was, therefore, the special badge of priests. I have brought together, in *a* to *k*, figure 33, a number of figures of priests from the Mendoza codex and the still unpublished Aztec Sahagun manuscript of the Biblioteca del Palacio at Madrid, with incense basin and copal

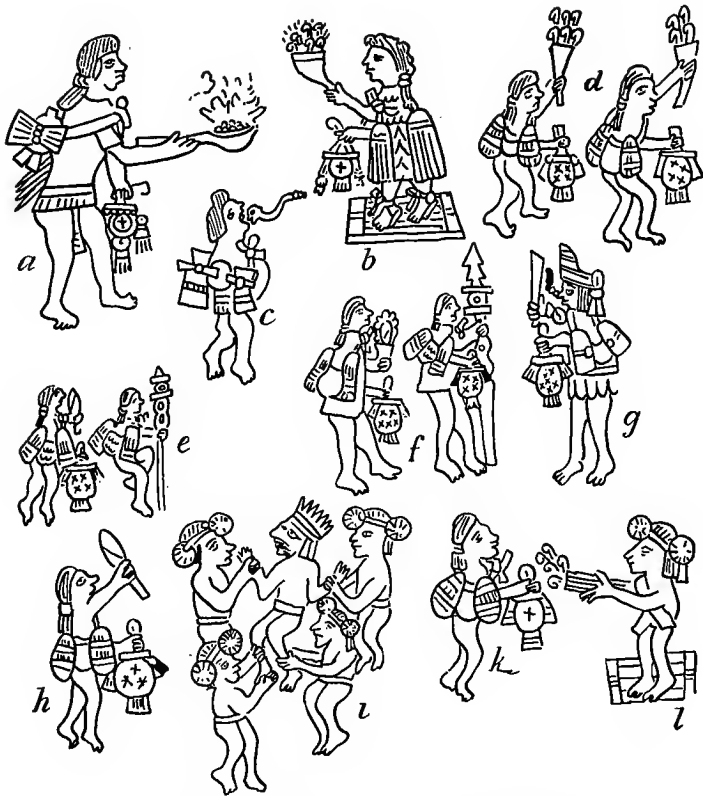


FIG. 33. Figures of priests from Mendoza codex and Sahagun manuscript.

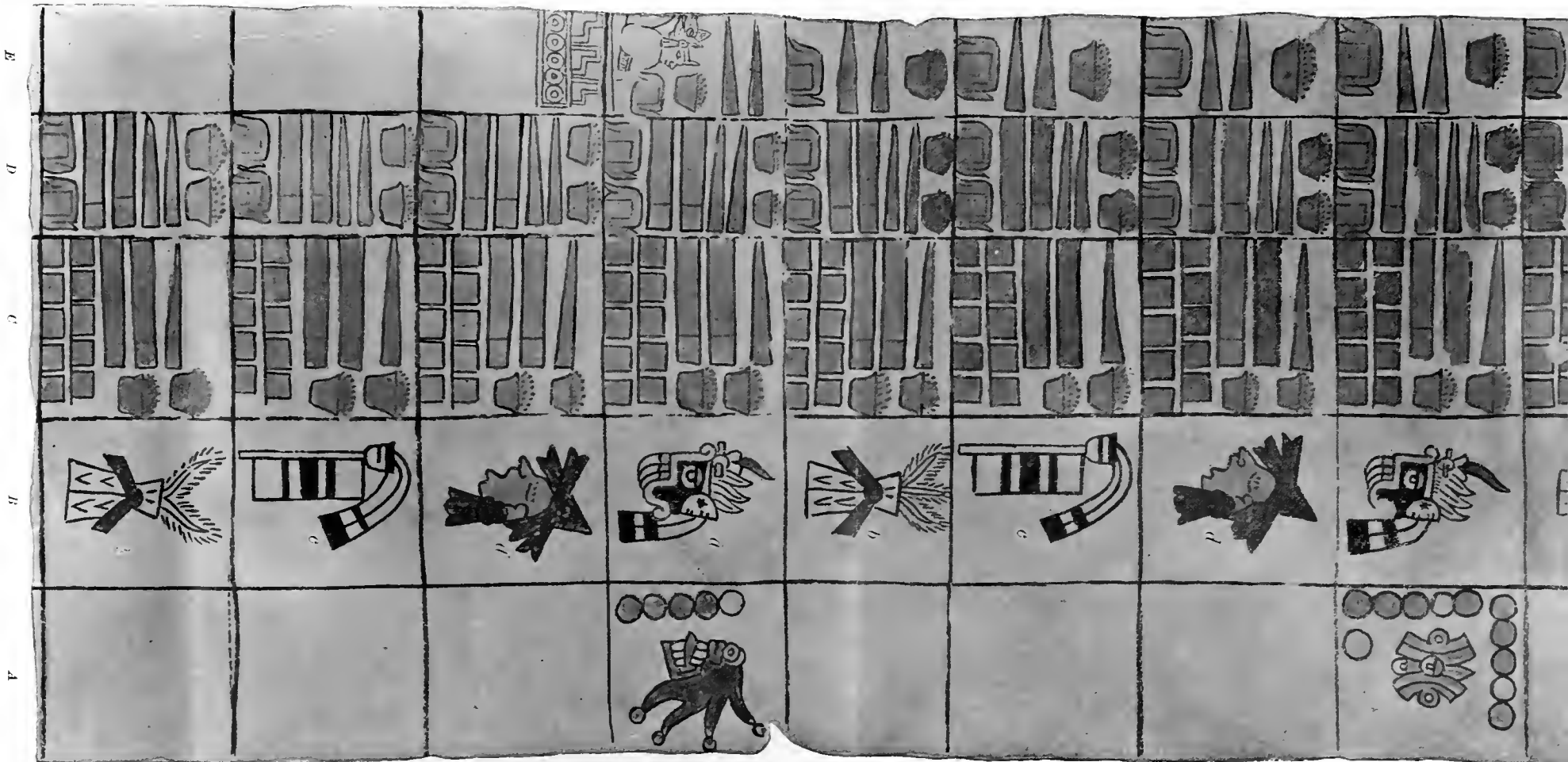
pouch, with sacrificial knife and copal pouch, and with the great rattle stick *Chicauaztli* in their hands, and upon the back of each is plainly to be seen the tobacco pouch or tobacco box (painted yellow or brown in the original), between two large tassels. Only the priest's assistants, called "quacuilli", who in *i* hold the victim by the arms and legs and in *l* bring down the burning billets of wood from the temple, are dressed differently, simply like messengers of death. Therefore, there can be no doubt that the figures drawn in column *a*

of our manuscript, in squares 16, 62, and 72, and the mummy bundle in square 60 are meant to represent the figures of priests. But it should be noted that the priests in our manuscript do not carry an ie-quachtli but an ie-tecomatl on their back, one of peculiar shape, with lateral projections which were probably made of gold.

But while the prince drawn in section 53, column A, has no little tongue—the symbol of speech and of a ruler (tlahtouani)—before his mouth, the tongue is plainly to be seen before the mouth of the figures of priests in squares 16 and 22, which in the figure in square 62 has possibly only been blotted out by time or carelessly omitted, for the mummy bundle in square 60 has the same name inscribed upon it as the living person in square 16. The priest in square 62 is, therefore, the direct successor in office to the priest in square 16, designated by the little tongue as tlahtouani. For this reason, and also because priests are chiefly represented in column A, I believe I may safely conclude that it was a temple which received the valuable tribute recorded in columns C, D, and E. This also explains why, as I stated above, the pictures of princes and cities are given wherever the list records an increase in the amount of the tribute due every quarter. If tribute wrung from conquered cities by a king were recorded here, then, doubtless, the conquest of the city or the death of the king would be noted in the same place. That the temple of an idol was the recipient of the tribute very simply explains the fact that the entries must have ceased soon after the fall of the city of Mexico.

But now where was the temple whose cashbook our manuscript represents? The answer ought to be found in the hieroglyphs which accompany the various figures represented in the manuscript; but unfortunately these are not numerous enough, nor are all of them sufficiently clear. I will proceed to discuss these hieroglyphs column by column; but I must observe at the outset that it is precisely in the hieroglyphs that Kingsborough's draftsman has made many mistakes, both in drawing and color.

In column A, square 16, the name hieroglyph introduced behind the head of the figure shows a cloth, which is apparently held up by two hands. The cloth is painted white, the hands yellowish brown. The hieroglyph seems to refer to an act which we see represented several times in the Zapotec Vienna codex and also in the Mayan Troano codex (see *b* and *c*, figure 34), which is the tying on of the shoulder cloth; possibly, also, its exhibition, presentation, or offering for sale. In the Manuscrit Mexicain number 3 of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris there is a hieroglyph (*a*, figure 34), which shows a shoulder cloth and a hand. It represents the name of a citizen of Uexotzinco who is set down as among those who, escaping, withdrew from the control of the encomenderos and the curas, and bears the legend "Andrés Tilmatlaneuh", that is, "Andrew, the cloth-lender".



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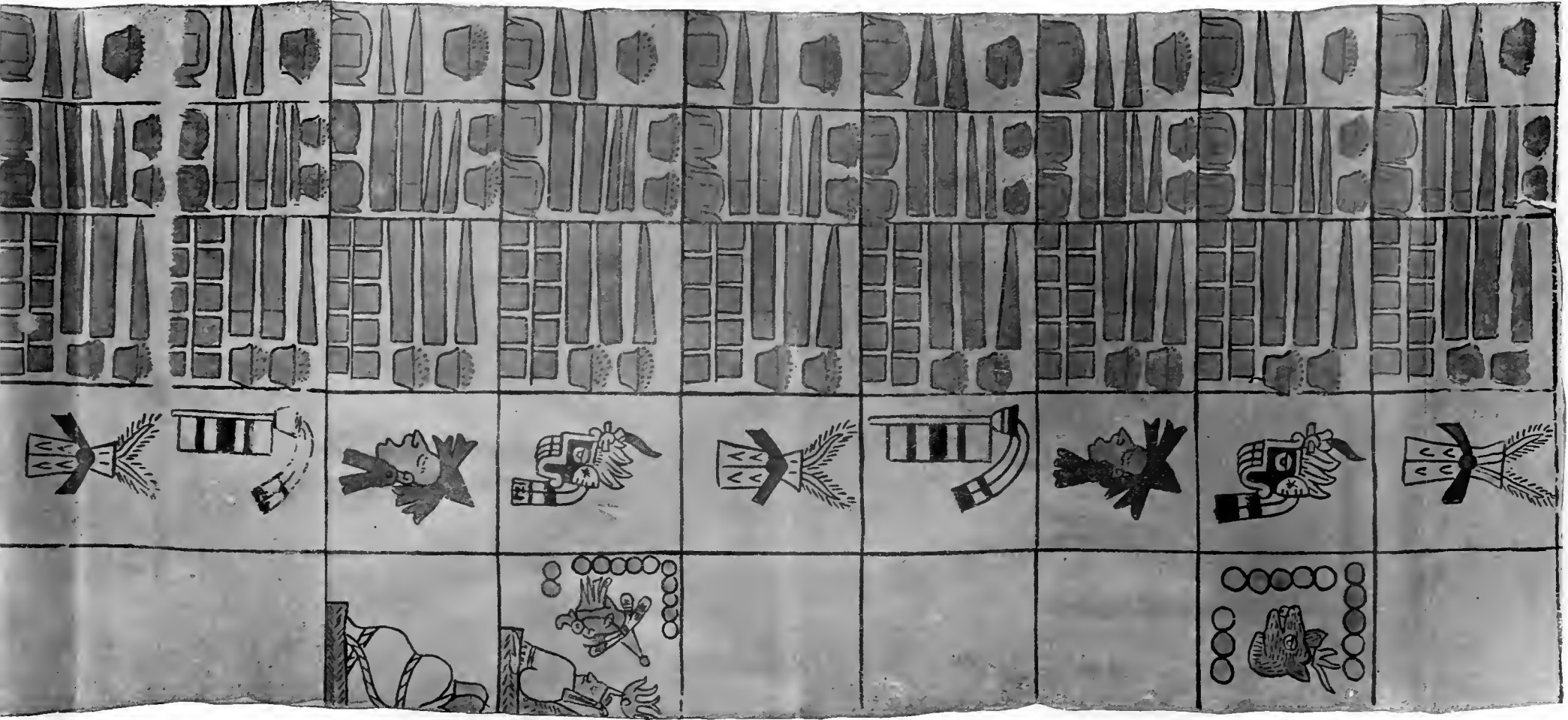
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In square 52, column A, is seen a hieroglyph behind the mummy bundle, consisting of a stalk painted bluish-green, holding a red object, from the left side of which hangs another object painted yellow. This is probably meant for an ear of corn with its bunch of silk hanging at one side. The name of the person whose death is announced here should therefore be read Xilotl, or Cacamatl, "young ear of corn".

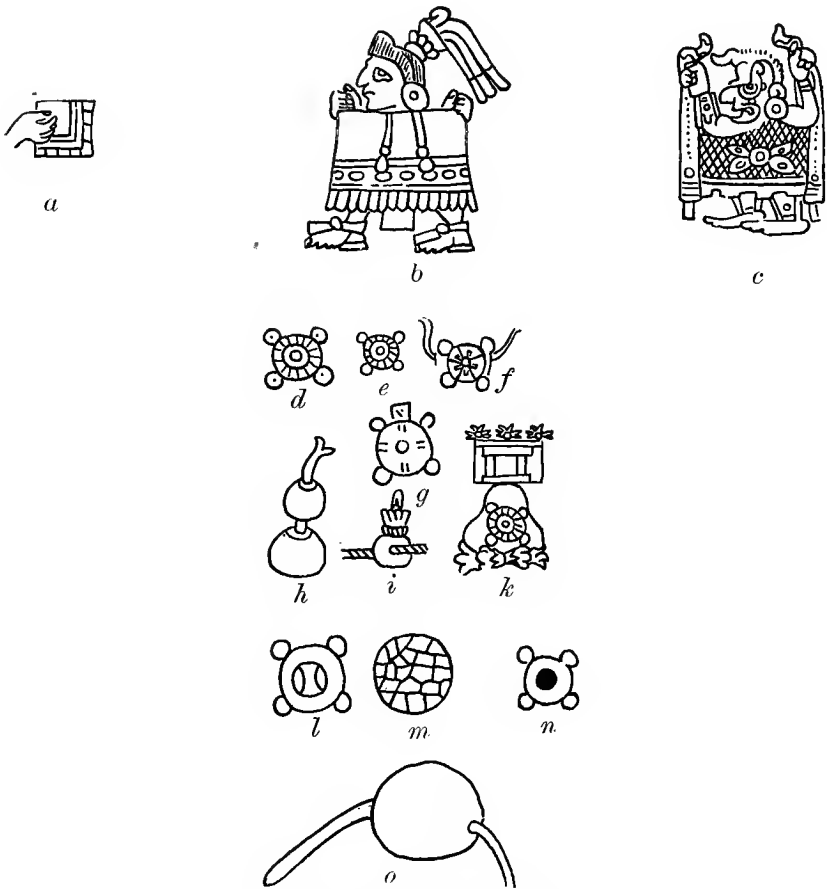


FIG. 34. Symbols of cloth and precious stones.

His successor, in square 53, decorated with the princely headband, is designated by a hieroglyph painted yellow, which I can not interpret with any certainty.

The mummy bundle, in square 60 of column A, has the same name hieroglyph as the figure in square 16. Apparently the death of the same person is here announced whose entrance into office is proclaimed in square 16.

His successor, in square 62, has for his name hieroglyph a single bead drawn on a strap. This is probably to be read Chalchiuh. The principal precious stones among the Mexicans were the chalchiuitl, which comprised jadeite and other stones of a similar green color, and xiuitl, the "turquoise". Both were represented hieroglyphically as lustrous bodies, like the brilliantly polished mirror tezcatl (marcasite or obsidian), with eyes at the four corners, that is, sending out rays in four directions. The forms *d* to *f*, figure 34, represent chalchiuitl; *l*, xiuitl; and *n*, tezcatl. The chalchiuitl was preferred for necklaces (cozcatl), beads, and bracelets (macuextli) because turquoise (xiuitl) was too valuable, and was not found in such large pieces. Turquoise was used especially for incrustations and mosaics. The precious ear pegs (xiuhnacochtli), the diadems of the Mexican kings (xiuhuitzolli), were made of turquoise mosaic. When, instead of the hieroglyphs for chalchiuitl and xiuitl, the object itself was drawn, the word xiuitl was represented by an incrustated disk, *m*, and the word chalchiuitl by one or two strung beads, as we see it in *h* and *i*, which are taken from a Historia Mexicana of the Aubin-Goupil collection (Goupil-Boban Atlas, plates 60, 59). The form *h* stands for the chalca tribe, which is designated by the hieroglyph chalchiuitl, *d*, in a corresponding representation in the Boturini codex, published in the Kingsborough collection. The form *i* expresses the name of one of the four barrios of Aztlan, which is also to be read Chalco. On the lienzo of Tlaxcala the town of Chalco is also designated by a large bead. Comparison with these figures places it, I think, beyond a doubt, that the hieroglyph in square 62 of column A is likewise to be read Chalchiuh.

Of the persons in column A there still remains the one in square 72. The name hieroglyph is plainly a shield, but there was something else above it which can no longer be deciphered, as only a few remnants of blue paint are left of it. Possibly there was a blue royal headband above it, in which case it would have to be read Chimaltecutli. A man by this name, chieftain of Calixtlahuacan, is mentioned in the Anales de Chimalpahin in the year 1484.

Finally, there is still the hieroglyph of a place, section 68 in column A. Arrows are drawn flying toward it or sticking into it. This is probably meant to signify the conquest of that place. The hieroglyph consists of the well-known drawing of a mountain (tepetl), of a string of beads laid around its summit (cozcatl, "necklace"), and a number of objects on the top of the mountain which I can not explain with any degree of certainty. The object which forms the actual pinnacle of the mountain is painted brown, and oblique stripes are plainly visible, between which the color seems to be darker. This may therefore possibly represent the hieroglyph of stone (tetl). The square body above it is painted black. This

may, perhaps, be intended for a piece of obsidian (*itztli*). According to this, we have *itz-te-cozca-tepe* as elements of the hieroglyph; but I can not construct any place name known to me out of these elements.

I will now pass on to columns *D* and *E*. In *D* we have in square 60 the mummy bundle and a hieroglyph which in the Kingsborough

drawing is absolutely incomprehensible, but which in the original, and also in our reproduction, can be recognized, with some difficulty, to be sure, as the head of a beast of prey with outstretched tongue. We should read this *Ocelotl*, "jaguar." A seated figure then follows, in square 61, whose head is not adorned with the royal head-band, the *xiuhuitzolli*, and whose long hair hangs down behind, wound round with a strap, after the manner of priests. A cactus branch is behind it, by way of name hieroglyph. Cactus branches, with the blossoms, often occur in the register of names of persons of *Uexotzinco* and *Xaltepetlapan* (Manuscript Mexican number 3, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris), shown in figure 35 (*a*, 1 to 5). There they denote the name *Nochuetl*, which is also frequently mentioned in the *Anales of Chimalpahin*. A cactus branch in conjunction with an arrow is likewise used there to represent the name *Tziuac mitl*, *b*. It seems, therefore,

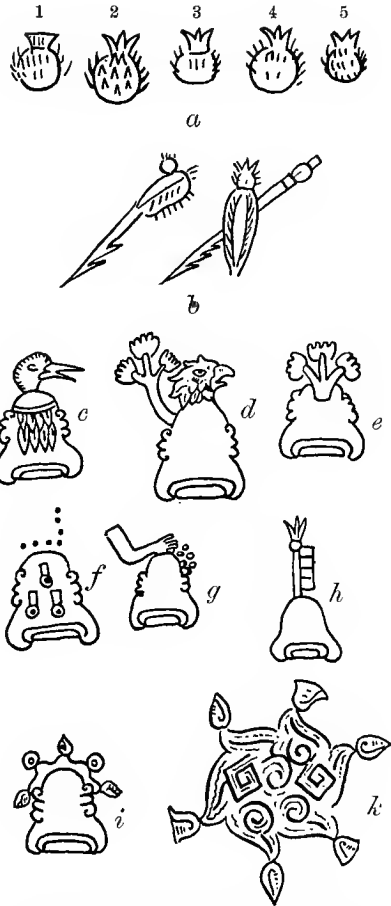


FIG. 35. Symbols of personal and place names in Mexican codices.

that a variety of cactus was meant by *Tziuactli*, or *tziuactli*. This name, too, which likewise occurs in the *Anales of Chimalpahin*, might be expressed by the hieroglyph in square 61, column *D* (plate *VI*).

In the hieroglyph which accompanies the mummy bundle, in square 64, column *D* (plate *VI*), I think I recognize the head of a deer and an upright tuft of feathers. The deer is *mazatl*, and the upright tuft of feathers should probably be read *quetzalli*. According to this we

should have mazaquetzal, and this is a royal name well known from the *Anales of Chimalpahin*, that is, in the territories of Chalco, Tlalmanalco, and Amaquemecan.

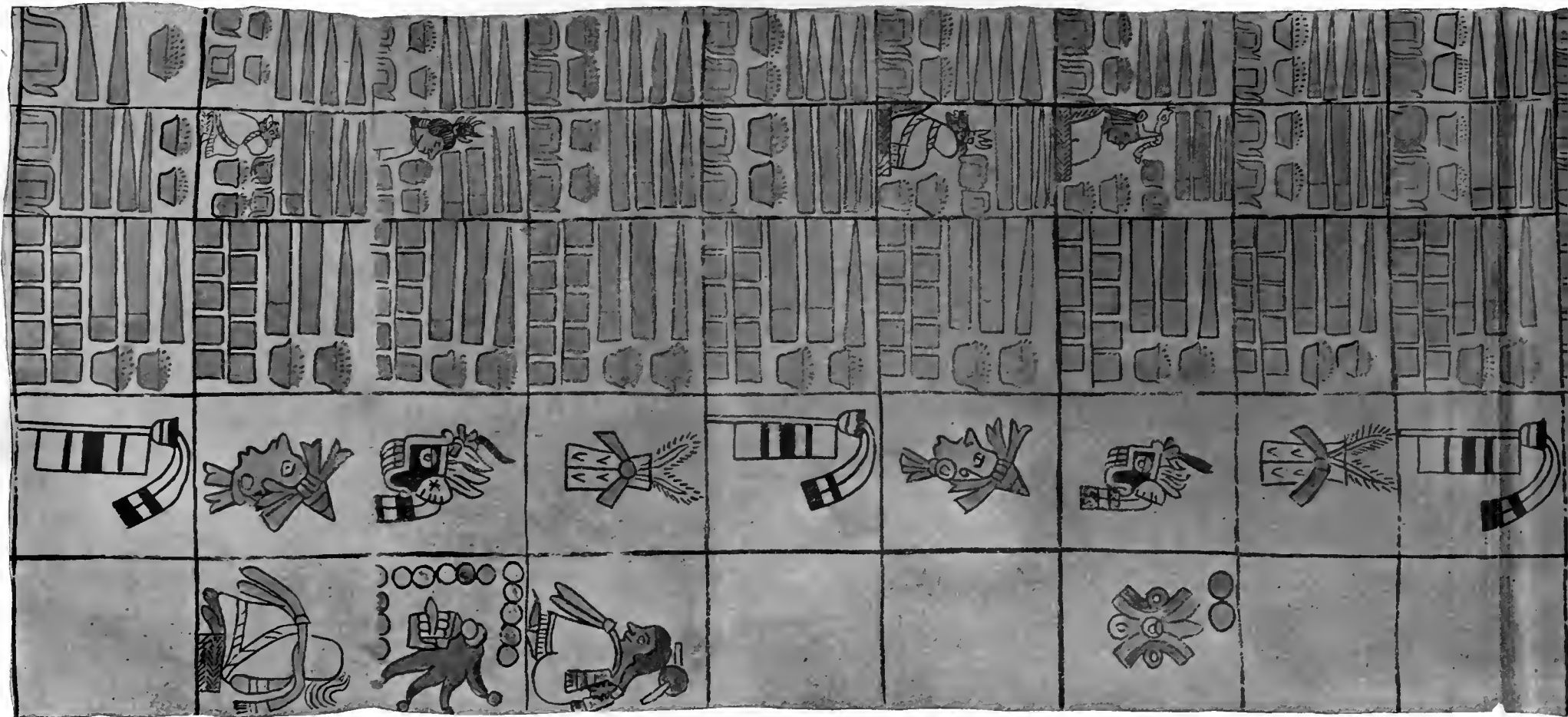
The next figure in column *D*, square 65, is described by a hieroglyph which is obviously the picture of a snake. The head is above on the left, and is white. The forked tongue protruding from the mouth is plainly visible. The body is painted yellow. A rattle seems to be drawn at the end of the tail, which is left white like the head. The name might therefore be read *Coatl*, "snake".

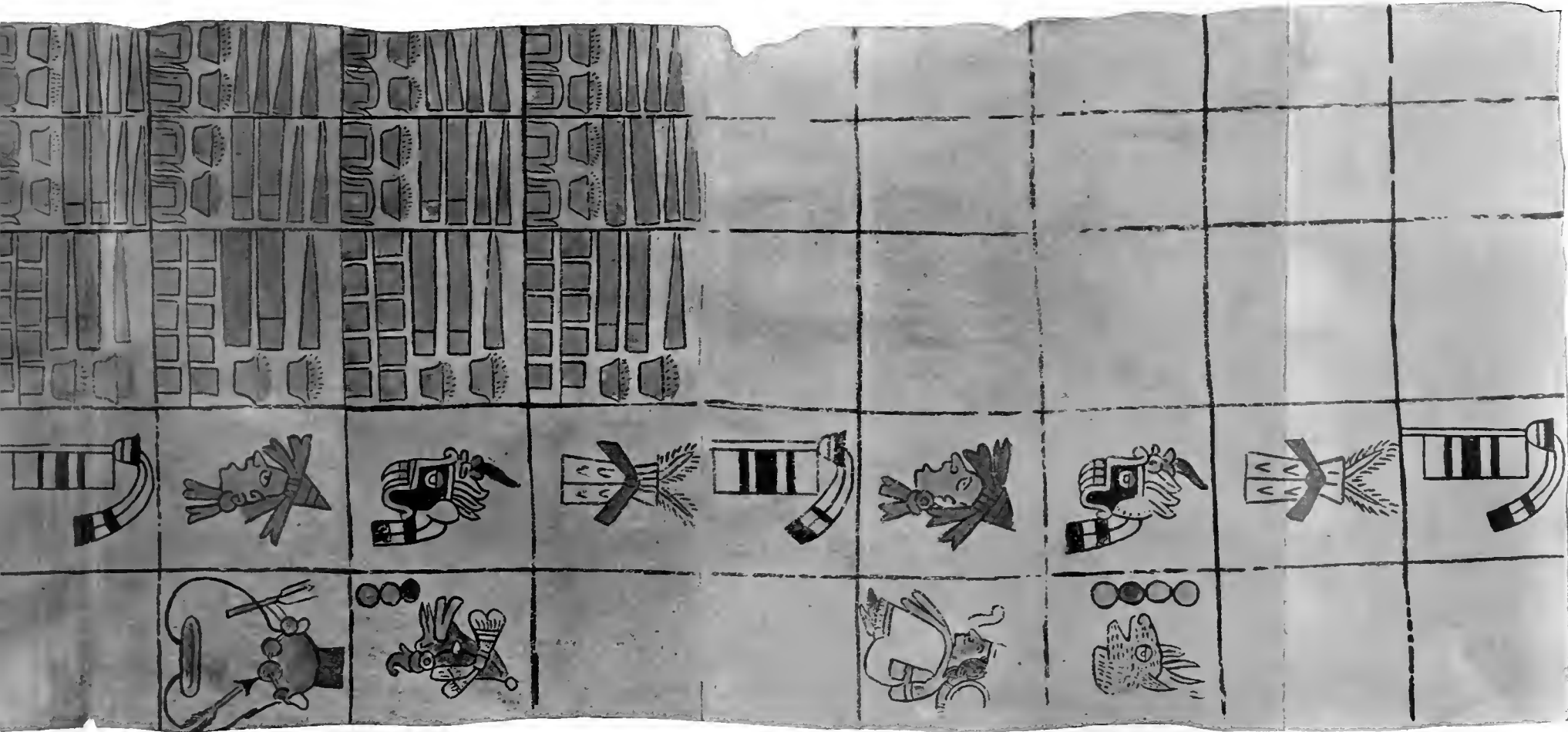
Finally, in column *E*, as already stated, in sections 29, 33, and 44 (plates *IV* and *V*), three chieftains are drawn, with their name hieroglyphs and the hieroglyphs of the cities ruled by them.

The hieroglyph of the city in square 29 shows us a mountain (*tepetl*) which seems to be formed of streams of water moving in a circle. A mountain of water might be read *Atepec*. A city is recorded by this name in the *Mendoza codex*, page 16, among the conquests of the younger *Motecuhzoma*, and is expressed there by the drawing of a mountain with a stream of water on it (*i*, figure 35). In Mexican hieroglyphs of towns, however, a mountain often serves merely to show that reference is made to a place or a place name, that is, to express the syllable *co* or *can*; compare, for instance, the hieroglyphs of the cities of *Aztaquemecan*, *Quauacan*, *Quauhyocan*, *Chiconquiauhco*, and *Nepopoalco*, from the *Mendoza codex* (*c* to *g*), and those of *Tzompanco* (*h*), *Tlacopan*, *Toltitlan*, etc., from the *Osuna codex*. If we take this into consideration, then, since the water in our hieroglyph in square 29 is apparently drawn moving in a circle, we should perhaps read it *Almoyauacan*, "where the water moves in a circle". This is the name of an ancient village which is mentioned, after *Uexotzinco* and *Xaltepetlapan*, with their *barrios* (*calpulli*) and the persons belonging to them in the *Manuscript Mexicain* number 3 of the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris. There (*k*) the water flowing in a circle is much more plainly drawn than in our hieroglyph. But since, as we shall see, both the succeeding hieroglyphs also refer to territories adjacent or friendly to *Uexotzinco*, I think it quite probable that the place hieroglyph in square 29, column *E*, should be read *Almoyauacan*.

The chieftain of the place is designated hieroglyphically by the head of a jaguar. His name must therefore have been *Ocelotl*, or *Tequan*, "beast of prey".

The place which is meant to be designated in square 33 (plate *IV*) is represented by a bush painted bluish green. Unfortunately, this hieroglyph is also open to various readings. The Mexicans expressed the word *zacatl*, "grass", by a similar bush (see in the *Mendoza codex* the place names *Zacatlan*, *Zacatepec*, and *Zacatollan*, shown in *a*, *b*, and *c*, figure 36); but they also painted the same thing when they





wished to say *popotl*, "broom", for the broom was made of a variety of stiff grass (see the hieroglyph *Popotlan*, *d* and *e*); and, finally, they also painted it to express the green bushes known as *acxoyatl*, on which they offered the blood which flowed in tortures, self-inflicted in honor of the gods (see *f*, taken from the Sahagun manuscript of the *Biblioteca del Palacio*, expressive of the religious ceremony *acxoya-temaliztli*, "the laying down of green bushes before the idols"). For the interpretation of our hieroglyph in square 33 we thus have a choice of *Zacatlan*, *Popotlan*, and *Acxotlan*, all well-known place names, any one of which might be correct. Of these I think we may exclude *Popotlan*, for in its hieroglyph the band which fastens the bush to the broom is usually given. But we might choose between *Zacatlan* and *Acxotlan*. A place named *Zacatlan* is quite regularly mentioned, together with *Uexotzinco*, *Tlaxcallan*, *Tliliuhquitepec*, and *Cholollan*, in the chronicle of *Tezozomoc*. The *Anales of Chimalpahin* also mention together *Chichimeca*, *Tenanca*, *Cuixcoca*, *Temimolca*, *Zacanca*, and *Yhuipaneca*. *Acxotlan* was one of the most important *barrios* of *Chalco*. The fact that the grass (*zacatl*) in the place name is usually painted yellow, while green seems to be the color most naturally applied to the bush (*acxoyatl*), militates perhaps in favor of the latter meaning.

The hieroglyph of the chieftain of this city is likewise quite unintelligible in the *Kingsborough* drawing. In the original we can make out, with some difficulty, to be sure, but still plainly, the head of a deer (*mazatl*), with the eyelids painted yellow and with blue antlers resting on a yellow base, quite in the manner in which the day sign *Mazatl*, is drawn and colored in column A. Above it are twelve



FIG. 36. Symbols of place and personal names, Mexican codices.

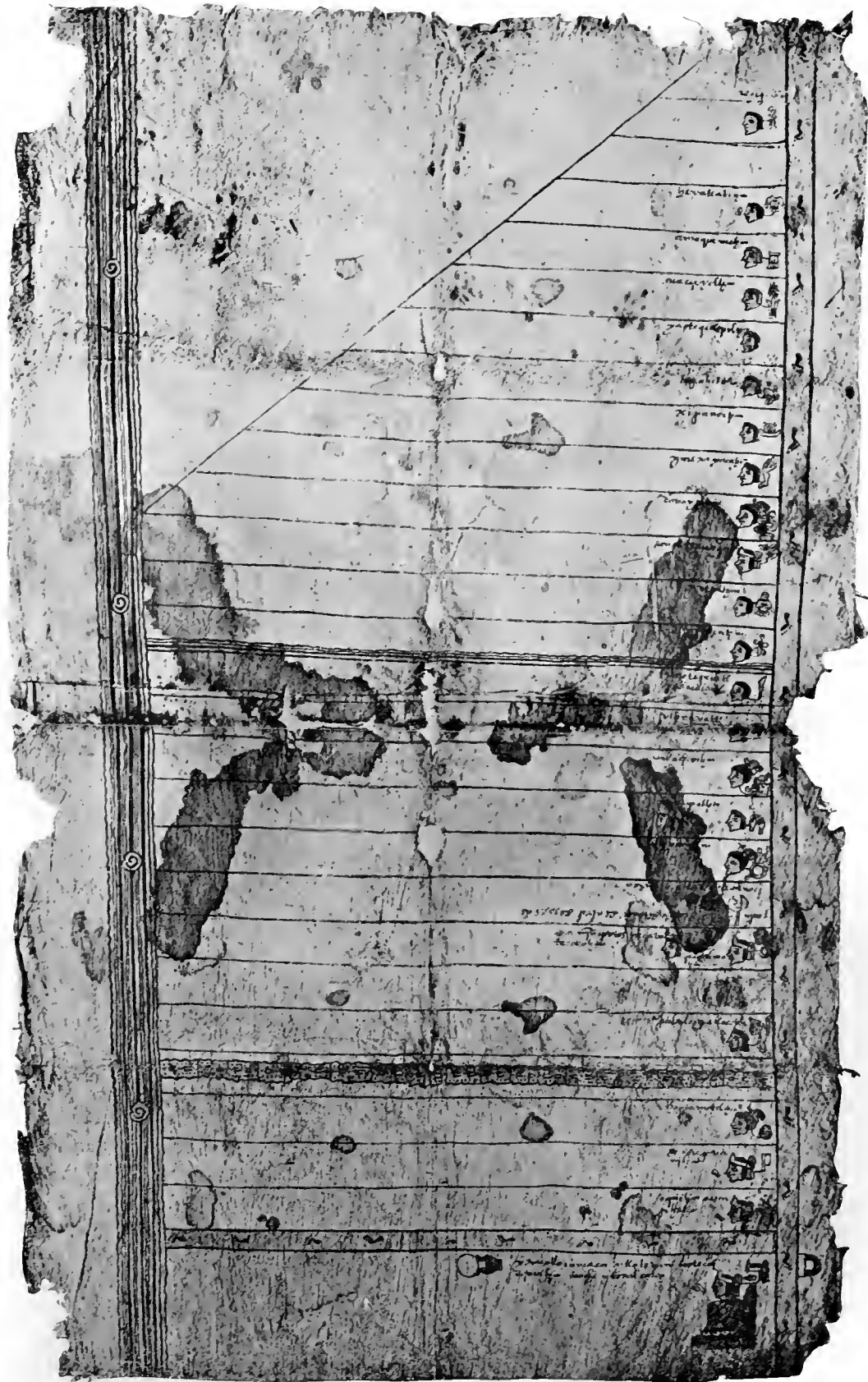
little circles of various colors, arranged in divisions of 5, 5, and 2. This is undoubtedly meant for the number 12 (matlactli omome). The person drawn here is therefore called by the name of a day, matlactli omome mazatl, "12 deer", which was possibly the day of his birth or had some other connection with him.

Finally, the wall crowned with battlements under the figure of the chieftain, in sections 44 and 45, undoubtedly stands for the place name Tenanco, "at the place of inclosures". The name hieroglyph of the chieftain is again quite unintelligible in Kingsborough, and it is incorrectly painted green. In the original there is not a trace of color to be seen. With some difficulty the hairy head of an animal can be recognized, which is probably intended for a rabbit (tochtli), and the name should probably be read accordingly.

If, in conclusion, we now turn to the question of the origin of the manuscript, we see that the analysis of the hieroglyphs leads to no definite result. The most important hieroglyph, the place name, in section 68, column A (plate vi), can not be interpreted with certainty. The other place names can, indeed, be explained with some degree of certainty, but they leave room for doubt, insomuch as places called Tenanco and Zacatlan occur in different localities. Nevertheless, I believe that the combination of the names Tenanco, Zacatlan (or Acxotlan), and, possibly, if my interpretation is correct, Almoyauacan points to a particular region, the land of the Uexotzincas and Chalcas, the valleys and slopes at the southern and western foot of the volcanoes Popocatepetl and Iztaccihuatl. In this region also, as we know from Chimalpahin, various tribal heads bore the title Teohua teuhctli, "priest-prince". Nezaualcoyotl and the great Moteuhzoma, the elder, went thither to obtain from the tribal chief a victory-insuring fetish, the otlanamitl teueuelli, the four bamboo arrows, and the shield of the war god. I do not believe that the "Monte Sacro", the famous shrine of Amaquemecan, was the one to which our manuscript refers, for in that case we should be able to verify the names of persons from Chimalpahin. But, besides the great sanctuary, there must have been others in the immediate neighborhood and more remote. Let us hope that among the many records which were made in the first century after the conquest something may yet be discovered which shall establish the identity of the persons and places of our manuscript beyond all possibility of doubt.

FRAGMENT II

This fragment (plate vii) is a strip of agave paper 68 cm. long and 40 cm. wide, covered with drawings and writing on one side. It is the page which Alexander von Humboldt describes in *Vues des Cor-*



MEXICAN PAINTING—HUMBOLDT FRAGMENT II

dillères et Monuments des Peuples indigènes de l'Amérique, under the title "Généalogie des Princes d'Azcapotzalco".

The drawings on this page (plate VII) occupy a space bounded by straight lines, to the right of which a path showing footprints and to the left a body of water, stream or sea margin, indicated by drawings of waves and whirlpools and by a light blue color, run the whole length of the page. Near the lower edge a second path, beginning at right angles to the first, leads straight across the page to the water, and about the center of the page a small body of water, also beginning at right angles to the principal path, crosses the page in like manner. The whole space above the lower path is divided by horizontal lines into 27 divisions, which, however, decrease in length from the seventeenth down in consequence of a boundary line which begins at the left and runs diagonally upward to the right. In one of these divisions, the fourth counting from the lower path, a row of dark figures filled in with dots and angular lines runs straight across the page. In Mexican picture writing this is the way in which the idea of *tllali*, or *milli*, "acre", or "field", is expressed. The other divisions, except two which are empty and a third in which a kind of explanatory note is written, are each provided with the head and the hieroglyph of a particular person.

This general arrangement of the page shows that we can hardly have to do here with a genealogy, as von Humboldt supposed. The whole arrangement far more closely resembles a doomsday book, a map of public lands, or a register of landed property; and this in fact it is proved to be by the writing, which occurs in the lowest division below the lower path.

In this division we see to the right the picture of King Motecuhzoma, the ninth king of the Mexicans, known as Xocoyotzin, "the young", in contradistinction to Ueue-Motecuhzoma, the elder Motecuhzoma, the fifth king of the Mexicans, whose other name was Ihuicamina, "he who shoots at the heavens". To the left is the picture of a hut built of straw or reeds, painted yellow above a white circle. And between the picture of the king and the figure of the hut are the words: *y xacallo camaca y tlatovani motecuhzomatzin mochi ytonal catca* ("the country house of Camaca: all parcels of land which belonged to King Motecuhzoma"). The word *tonalli*, which is here the most important word, deciding the meaning of the whole, means "glow", "warmth of the sun", "summer" in its more literal application; but it also means the "character" or "signs" of a day or a year; that is, one of the 20 pictures by which the Mexicans designated their days or one of the 4 of these which designated the years. Hence follows the secondary meaning, "fate decided by the day of birth"; and lastly, in general terms, "that which is assigned to anyone", that is, what is allotted to him, his

portion, his fate. Thus Molina in his dictionary gives: "ración de alguna, ó cosa diputada para otro" ("allowance of something, or a thing assigned to another"), and for tlalli te-tonal, "suerte de tierra agena" ("a piece of land belonging to another person").

I will now proceed to describe the separate pictures and hieroglyphs. King Motecuhzoma, in the lowest divisions of the fragment, below the lower cross path, is represented at full length, seated on a chair woven of reeds (tepotzo-icpalli), which is like the others, but is provided with a back. He is dressed in the royal blue garment (xiuhtimatli), which is woven in openwork and trimmed with a red border of eyes (tenchilnauayo), probably of feather work. On his head he wears the band of turquoise mosaic (xiuh-tzontli, or xiuhuitzolli). There is a small blue tongue before his mouth, the symbol of speech and power (tlahtouani means both "the one who speaks" and "the king"). Mexican kings are drawn in almost precisely the same way in the Sahagun manuscript belonging to the Academia de la Historia (see *g*, figure 36), except that here is given the turquoise bar (xiuh-yacamitl) which Mexican kings wore in the pierced septum of the nose, as a distinguishing ornament, when they put on gala dress. I have also taken from the Sahagun manuscript the terms just used for the various articles of royal Mexican dress.

Motecuhzoma means "the angry lord". The idea of angry could not well be expressed by the Mexicans in hieroglyphs; but it was otherwise with the idea tecuhtli, "lord", "prince". To express this idea they merely drew and painted the turquoise headband (xiuhtzontli, xiuhuitzolli), the emblem of kings. Thus we find both the older and the younger Motecuhzoma hieroglyphically designated simply by the xiuhtzontli (compare *h* and *n*, figure 36, from Codex Telleriano-Remensis, volume 4, pages 6 and 13). The former is intended for the elder Motecuhzoma and the latter for the younger. Usually, however, to prevent confusion, the elder Motecuhzoma is hieroglyphically designated by an arrow sticking in the picture of the heavens, *i*, a hieroglyph, which represents his other name, Ilhuicamina, "he who shoots at the heavens". The younger Motecuhzoma, on the other hand, is more particularly designated by a peculiar element added to the royal headband, which is visible in the hieroglyph of our picture as well as in *k*, figure 36 of the Mendoza codex, and Sahagun manuscript, Academia de la Historia, page 68. Why this element should express the idea xocoyotl, "the younger", I can not state, and would merely mention that a similar element is to be seen in the Sahagun manuscript of the Academia de la Historia on the leg painted white and dotted with black, *m*, figure 36, which represents the name of the seventh Mexican king, Tizoc or Tizocic (Tizocicatzin). I still think it very doubtful whether *o*, which occurs

on the great so-called calendar stone in the upper left-hand triangular space, is meant for a hieroglyph of Motecuhzoma, as is often assumed. Here the *xiuhtzontli* is combined with the breastplate of the fire god. In a corresponding place on the other three triangular spaces are the dates, 1 Tecpatl, 1 Quiauitl, 7 Ozomatli, which appear also to denote certain deities. I think that King Motecuhzoma took his name from one of the cognomens of the fire god; for *el señor enojado*, "the angry god", which is the meaning of the name Motecuhzoma, is a fit title for the god of devouring fire. I think I distinctly recognize the hieroglyph of the younger Motecuhzoma in *p*, which occurs on the inner side of the cover of a cinerary casket, which bears on the outer side (the top) the date 11 Tecpatl. Peñafiel reproduced this casket in his "*Monumentos del arte mexicano*", and regarded the hieroglyph as that of King Nezauapilli, of Tetzaco, said to have died in the year 11 Tecpatl, or A. D. 1516. But, in the first place, the year of Nezahualpilli's death has never been precisely determined. According to Chimalpahin, he died a year earlier, in the year 10 Acatl, or A. D. 1515. Furthermore, the hieroglyph has absolutely no connection with the elements of the name Nezauapilli. On the contrary, all the elements contained in the name Motecuhzoma seem to be expressed in this figure. The royal headband gives us the element *tecu*, "prince". The little tongue (symbol of speech) with clouds of smoke rising from it seems to express the element *mozoma*, "angry", fiery speech, as it were. And finally, the element with which we became familiar in the hieroglyphs *k* and *l*, and which we also see in the hieroglyph of our manuscript, is plainly contained here, and represents the idea of *xocoyotla*.

Opposite the figure of Motecuhzoma in our manuscript is the picture of a hut built of reeds, called *xacalli* in Mexican, or *jacal*, as they still say in Mexico. The circle below probably refers to the place which is here meant, but I can not explain it more fully. As for the location itself, there is no place by the name of Camaca given on more recent maps, and I have sought for it in vain on the older ones. On the map which accompanies the text of the *Conquistador anónimo* published by Ramusio,^a there seems to be the only hint of it. This is probably based on the first map that was made from the one officially sent in by Cortes. It differs from the latter, however, inasmuch as the fresh-water lake, which on Cortes's map is shown in very much contracted dimensions on the left of the sheet, is repeated independently on a larger scale on the upper part of the sheet.^b Upon this map, exactly as on that of Cortes, two forked causeways are given on the north side of the town, which is, however, incorrectly

^a Ramusio, *Delle navigationi et viaggi*, v. 3, Venice, 1556; García Icazbalceta, *Documentos inéditos para la historia de México*, v. 1, p. 390.

^b Dahlgren, "*Nägot om det förna och nuvarande Mexico*" (*Ymer*, No. 1, 1889).

designated by the author as the west side. One of these causeways leads to the left toward Azcapotzalco. The other runs back of the fork due north. Where this causeway reaches the mainland the name Calmacam is written down. Of course, it is doubtful whether we are justified in connecting this name with the Camaca on our fragment II, for on the map of Alonzo de Santa Cruz, of the year 1555,^a the name Caltlitlan appears in about the same place. Nevertheless, I am inclined to think that there was a boundary line in this region, that is, northward from Azcapotzalco toward Guadalupe. Azcapotzalco was the first of the cities subdued by Mexico, and it is expressly stated that the lands of Azcapotzalco were divided among themselves by the nobles of Mexico, the king taking the lead. There are, in fact, fertile farm lands at the base of the mountain, traversed by streams of water which come down from Tliliuhyacan, Tlalnepantla, and Atizapam. The water drawn on the left side of the fragment may be the seashore, and the road running along the right side may be the one which ran along the southern base of the mountains of Tenayocan and Guadalupe.

Lastly, on the right side of our fragment, outside the path, there is drawn a figure which seems to represent a kind of box provided with a mecapalli, the broad band of woven straw which was placed across the forehead, by means of which the burden resting on the back was carried. Perhaps this was meant to symbolize agricultural implements.

Above the figure of Motecuhzoma, as I have said, runs the drawing of a path. The figures seen on this and on the path at the right are very realistic reproductions of the imprint of a bare foot, the sole and the five toes, in sand or other light soil. These footprints are generally used in Mexican hieroglyphic writing to denote a path, traveling over a path, or journeying or moving in a certain direction.

I will designate the separate divisions or sections above this cross path, proceeding from below upward, by the figures 1 to 27. Divisions 7 and 8 are the most important. In division 7 there is above a hieroglyph, which I will describe later with the others. Beside it is the hieroglyph and the head, adorned with the royal headband, of the brave Quauhtemoc, upon whom the Mexicans conferred the office of king, that is, chief military commander, after the death of Cuitlauac. Motecuhzoma and Cuitlauac were sons of Axayacatl, the sixth king of the Mexicans. Quauhtemoc was a son of Ahuitzotl, eighth king of Mexico, and the power was conferred upon him although there were nearer heirs. In Mexico birth only partially influenced succession to the throne, as also to the other high offices of state. It is well known how heroically Quauhtemoc defended the

^a Nordenskiöld, Facsimile Atlas, p. 109, and Dahlgren, work cited, p. 10.

city of Mexico for 90 days against Cortes, in spite of European military science. His capture, which took place on the date ce Coatl yei Calli, or August 13, 1521 (discussed in the previous chapter), put an end to the war. Cortes at first treated him kindly, but later (according to a marginal note in Chimalpahin it must have happened on the day 1 Ocelotl, that is, as we reckon it, 169 days later, about the end of the year 1521) sent him and four other influential Mexicans prisoners to Coyouacan and strove to extort from them by torture information as to where were hidden the treasures which the Spaniards had to

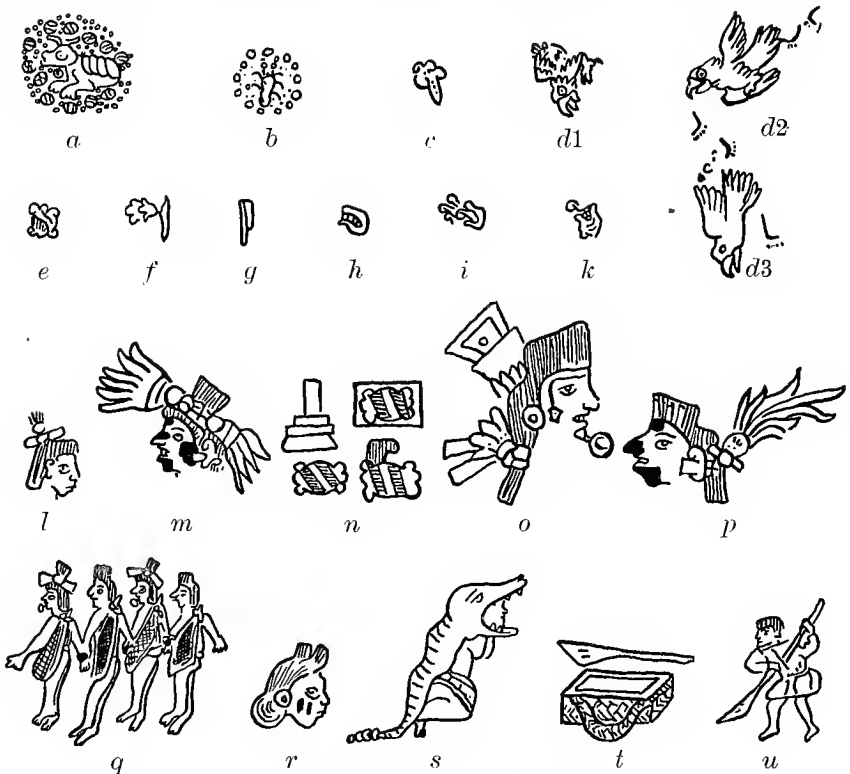


FIG. 37. Mexican symbols of persons and places.

leave behind in Mexico the year previous at the time of their flight. Quauhtemoc was afterward baptized and named for his godfather Don Hernando de Alvarado Quauhtemotzin. Cortes appointed him gobernador of Mexico, but afterward had him hanged on suspicion of conspiracy, together with Tettlepanquetzatzin and Couanacochtzin, the kings of Tlacopan and Tetzcoco. This happened in the year 1524 at Ueimollan during the expedition to Honduras. "He died in some sort like a Christian" (ye yuhqui ye christianoyotica momiquilli), says Chimalpahin. "A cross was put into his hand, his

feet were bound together with iron chains, and by these they hung him to a ceiba tree". The execution is represented on page 138 of Codex Vaticanus A; but there he is represented as hanged by the neck in the usual way. From Chimalpahin's words, however, it would seem as though he had been cruelly hung up by the feet.

The hieroglyph of Quauhtemoc, "swooping eagle", is represented in section 7 of our manuscript by the head of an eagle and a footprint directed downward. In the Sahagun manuscript of the Academia de la Historia it is represented by an entire eagle flying downward (*d* 1, figure 37). In Codex Vaticanus A, plates 137 and 138, we also have a swooping eagle and footprints directed downward (*d* 2 and *d* 3, same figure).

The remark added in the following division, the eighth of our manuscript, apparently by the same hand which entered the other names and remarks, also refers to Quauhtemoc's death. In order to read the words the fragment must be turned upside down.

In this division we have two large circles and one small one, filled with an irregular network of lines and painted blue. These are hieroglyphs of the *xiuitl*, "turquoise", a word which, as I stated above, is frequently expressed by a small disk of turquoise mosaic (see *m*, figure 35). But the word *xiuitl* means not only "turquoise", but also "grass", "comet", and "year". It is used here in the last sense, for the little flag over the two large circles means "20". The two large circles and one small circle together, therefore, give us 41 years. Accordingly, there is written below them *hon poval xivitl oce axca*, "(it is) now 41 years". Besides the number at the left is 7 *Calli*, "7 house"; that is, the year 1524, the year of Quauhtemoc's death. To the right, beside the number, is 8 *Calli*, "8 house"; that is, the year 1565, which is more fully explained by the accompanying words: ——— (the numeral is not distinctly legible) *del mes de abril 1565 años* ("on the — of April of the year 1565"). From the year 1524 to the year 1565 there are actually 41 years.

The year 1565, in which this note was added, had a certain significance for the descendants of the ancient royal family of Mexico, as in that year Don Luis de Santa María Nanacacipactzin died: He was the son of Acamapichtli and grandson of Ahuitzotl, who was the eighth king of Mexico. He was the last descendant of the ancient royal family, and was still nominally recognized as regent (*gobernador*) of Mexico under Spanish rule: "Yehuatl oytech tlamiconic Mexica Tenucha tlaçopipiltin", says Chimalpahin. This year, therefore, marks the actual end of the ancient royal family, and for this reason Chimalpahin here adds a sketch of the entire ancient history of the city of Mexico and of the Mexican race. We read "that

^a Chimalpahin, Seventh Relation, pp. 194, 195.

when the city of Mexico surrendered to the victorious Cortes after the capture of Quauhtemoc, the chiefs of the Mexicans were assembled at Acachinanco. They were the following: (1) Quauhtemoczin, King of Mexico (tlahtohuani Tenuchtitlan); (2) Tlacotzin, cihuacohuatl, that is, the King's deputy; (3) Oquitzzin, Prince of Azcapotzalco (tlahtohuani Azcapotzalco-Mexicapan); (4) Panitzin (or Uanitzin), Prince of Ehcatepec (tlahtohuani Ehcatepec); (5) Motelchiuhtzin, the keeper of the royal stores (calpixqui), not a man of royal blood, but a great war chief (amo pilli, yn yece huey yaotiacauh catca). Cortes had them put in chains and taken as prisoners to Coyouacan.

The same four men who are mentioned here with Quauhtemoc are mentioned again in the same order in the account of Quauhtemoc's execution and that of the other two at Ueymollan: Cenca yc tlacoxque, motequi-pachoque, quichoquillique, yn quihuicac Mexica tlahtoque ("The princes of Mexico, who had been brought hither, were deeply moved and wept for him"). Their names are given as Don Juan Velázquez Tlacotzin, cihuacohuatl, Don Carlos Oquitzzin, Don Andrés Motelchiuhtzin, and Don Diego de Alvarado Huanítzin.

There is still another native account of events that happened during the siege and after the taking of the city of Mexico. This is the account preserved in the Sahagun manuscript of the Biblioteca Lorenziana, which forms the twelfth book of the work. It is stated there that on the day after Quauhtemoc's capture he and all the dignitaries were taken to Cortes at Atactzinco, to the house of the tlacochcalcatl Coyoucuetzin. Here, directly after Quauhtemoc, are named Coanacochtli and Tetelepanquetzatzin, the kings of Tetzcoco and Tlacopan, and then the following men of high rank: (1) cioacoatl Tlacutzin; (2) tlillanacalqui Petlauhtzin; (3) vitznavatl Motelchiuhtzin, mexicatl achcauhtli; (4) tecutlamacazqui ("high priest") Coatzin; (5) tlatlati ("steward") Tlaçolyautl.

When the princes came before Cortes, the three kings of the allied cities of Mexico, Tetzcoco, and Tlacopan took their seats beside Cortes. Then follow mixcoatlailotlac Auelitocetzin and tlatzacutica yopicatl Pupucatzin pilli, who, as a comparison with previous passages shows, are to be regarded as leaders of the Tlatelolcas.

And then we read: "On the other side sat the Tenochcas". Their names are given as Tlacutzin, Petlauhtzin, Motelchiuhtzin mexicatl achcauhtli, tecutlamacazqui Coatzin, and tlatati Tlaçolyautl. These names are mentioned repeatedly on previous pages of the narrative.

If we compare the two accounts, that of Chimalpahin and the one in the Sahagun manuscript, we must at the outset discard the last two persons named in the Sahagun narrative, for they are priests. Of the other three, two are identical with two of those mentioned by

Chimalpahin. The difference between the two narratives apparently can be explained by the fact that in the *Anales* of Chimalpahin we have in the beginning an account of the interview held with the Mexican princes immediately after the surrender of the city, while the list which then follows does not mention the princes present at this interview, but those whom Cortes afterward sent as prisoners to Coyouacan and put to the torture in order to wring confessions from them in regard to the treasures left behind by the Spaniards in their flight from the city.

If we now return to our manuscript we see that in divisions 5, 3, 2, and 1, below Quauhtemoc, the same four men are named whom Chimalpahin mentions as Quauhtemoc's companions; but the order of succession is somewhat changed, for, whilst we must always think of Tlacotzin as occupying the first place, Oquitzin must be in the fourth place here instead of the second, as in Chimalpahin.

The four persons, like those named in the other divisions, are expressed in our manuscript by a head with the name hieroglyph behind it. Besides which a scribe, who, as we have seen, made his entries in the year 1565, has added the names of the persons in writing:

Here, as elsewhere, the heads serve to show the rank of the person designated. In our manuscript, Uanitzin and Oquitzin, who are named above as kings of Ehcatepec and Azcapotzalco, have the royal headband of turquoise mosaic, like Motecuhzoma and Quauhtemoc. These two alone of the four have the little tongue before their mouth, the symbol of speech and also of power. Von Humboldt was of the opinion that the Mexicans intended to designate persons as living by the addition of this little tongue. That this is not the case here is obvious, for Oquitzin died earlier than the three others, and Motecuhzoma, who also has the little tongue, earlier than any of the four and before Quauhtemoc, who is represented without the little tongue. Apparently the tongue is meant here as the direct hieroglyph for *tlahtouani*, "the one who speaks", or "the lord", "the king", a pendant, as it were, to the royal headband.

The third of the four, Motelchiuh, who was described above as a war chief, is represented by the peculiar manner of wearing the hair which was a distinguishing mark of warriors. Sahagun tells us (*App.*, chapter 5) that when warriors adorned themselves for the dance they bathed, covered their whole bodies, except the face, with black color, and painted their faces with black stripes, and that instead of combing their hair "they made it stand on end to give themselves a terrible aspect". There were two different ways, as the pictures show, in which it was customary to arrange the hair on these occasions. One was to draw the hair together on the crown and wind round it a leather strap, to which, on gala occasions, large tassels of ornamental feathers were fastened, while the rest of the hair, as it

seems, stood out short and stiff all around the face. It is worn thus by the figures of warriors in the Mendoza codex (see *l*, figure 37) and on the head of Yacatecutli, the god of traveling merchants and caravan leaders, in the Sahagun manuscript of the Biblioteca del Palacio, *m*. This manner of wearing the hair was called *temillotl*, "stone-pillar hair dress", and the great tassels were called *quetzallalpiloni*, "ornamental feather band".^a The name *temillo*, "wearing the stone-pillar hair dress (warrior's hair dress)", occurs frequently in the list of names from Uexotzinco (Manuscript Mexicain number 3, Bibliothèque Nationale), already mentioned several times, and is represented there sometimes by the figure of a pillar, sometimes by a stone or a stone in a setting, or, finally, by a stone in connection with a head of dressed hair (see *n*, figure 37). In the other manner of wearing the hair it was made to stand up high over the forehead and allowed to hang down from the crown of the head over the neck, where it was wound by a strap, into which a feather ornament was stuck on gala occasions. This fashion is shown in the picture of a chieftain arrayed for the dance, *o*, which in Codices Telleriano-Remensis and Vaticanus A designates the feast *Tecuilhuitl*, and in the drawing of the head of *Tlacochcalco yaotl* in the Sahagun manuscript in the Biblioteca del Palacio, *p*. The chieftains of the Tlaxcaltecs are also drawn with this hair dress on the lienzo of Tlaxcala, in the representation of the festivities which the republic of Tlaxcala prepared for the reception of the conqueror Cortes, whom they hailed as their ally. This manner of wearing the hair was called *tzotzocolli*, and the feather ornament stuck into the strap, consisting of a furcated plume of heron feathers, was called *aztaxelli*.^b In *q* I give a picture from the Sahagun manuscript in the Biblioteca del Palacio, in which warriors are represented executing a dance at the feast of *Ochpaniztli*, where these two modes of wearing the hair are to be seen side by side, distinctly drawn. The former, the *temillotl*, is the distinguishing mark of the actual chieftains, the *tequia*. *Motelchiuh*, the great war chief, is therefore represented with it in division 3 of our manuscript (plate VII).

Finally, *Tlacotzin*, in division 5 (counting from the lower path), has neither the royal headband nor the chieftain's hair dress, but is represented simply with hair hanging straight down, without any insignia whatever. He was drawn without the royal headband, because at that time he was probably not yet in possession of the royal power which was afterwards conferred upon him. Nor was the warrior's hair dress appropriate to him, because the title *ciucouatl*, which he bore, was apparently not a military one. I will mention, however, that above *Tlacotzin*, in division 6, there was

^a Veröffentlichungen aus dem Königlichen Museum für Völkerkunde, v. 1, p. 140.

^b Veröffentlichungen aus dem Königlichen Museum für Völkerkunde, v. 1, p. 166.

painted a head with the royal headband like Quauhtemoc, but that this has been pasted over; that is, expunged.

As for the hieroglyphs, there are two in division 5 with Tlacotzin, which, however, do not both refer to the name. The first one seems rather to express the title and the second the name of the man. The latter represents an implement, a sort of wooden shovel which was used to work the ground, but also served to shovel earth, lime, etc. (see *t* and *u*). The former is taken from the Mendoza codex. Above is the tool, below the basket (*chiquiuitl*), in which the earth, lime, etc., was transported, with the broad carrying strap (*mecapalli*) to be placed over the forehead. In *u*, taken from the Osuna codex, is shown the Mexican laborer using this tool, the name of which is *uictli*, or *coanacatl*. In our manuscript it serves to express the name Tlacotzin because it was the symbol of servitude or bondage, of slave labor. The serf, the slave, was called *tlaochtli*. A *tlaotl*, somewhat differently pronounced, with the vowel short in the first syllable, meant the blossoming bough, an example of which is depicted in the hieroglyph Tlacopan (*Tacuba*). As in the present case the name Tlacotzin is expressed by a tool, we may conclude that the first pronunciation (with the long *a*) and also the first meaning belonged to it.

The first hieroglyph shows the picture of a snake with open jaws holding a human face. The snake is painted yellow, excepting the rattles and belly, the human face brown, and on the cheek there seem to be traces of the two stripes which are almost invariably drawn in the hieroglyphs of the Mendoza codex when a female face is to be expressed (see *r*, figure 37, the hieroglyph *Ciutatlan*, from the Mendoza codex, volume 40, page 1). The first hieroglyph in division 5 is therefore the exact reproduction of the word *ciuacouatl*, "female snake", the title, which it is stated by Chimalpahin and in the Sahagun manuscript was borne by the Tlacotzin mentioned here. The title *ciuacouatl* belonged to the highest dignitary in the realm, who was in a certain sense the colleague or deputy of the king (*tlahtouani*). This fact is so often and emphatically repeated in Tezozomoc's *Crónica mexicana* that it is natural to suspect intention and to conclude that the power claimed by the *ciuacouatl* was not always recognized by the king. In general, the colleagueship was plainly and clearly enough established. When in the narrative of the deeds of the elder Motecuhzoma, Tlacaoel, *ciuacouatl* of that period, makes a suggestion, Motecuhzoma answers that he agrees to everything, "for indeed I am the master; but I can not order everything, and you, *ciuacoatl*, are as much master as I am; we must both govern the Mexican state". The name *ciuacouatl* has several meanings. It means "female snake", but it may also signify "female twin" or "female companion". The name probably refers to the ancient earth goddess, who, in different

places, was called variously Ciuacoatl, "the snake woman", Tonantzin, "our dear mother", or Teteo innan, "mother of the gods", and who was to the father, the ancient god of heaven, exactly what the ciuacouatl was to the king in the earthly realm of the Mexican commonwealth.

I give in *s* a painting of this goddess corresponding exactly to the one in our hieroglyph. It occurs on plate 63 of the Goupil-Boban atlas, and there denotes Ciuacoatl, the goddess of Colhuacan, to whom Mexican prisoners are being sacrificed.

Motelchiuh means "the despised". The hieroglyph which here expresses this name is the well-known hieroglyph *te-tl*, "stone", which is painted in brown and black, to express the various colors or the veining of stone. Of course, this hieroglyph is only an approximation of the sound which it is actually intended to represent. It is not impossible that there is some etymologic connection, though only an indirect one, between the words *te-tl*, "stone", and *tel-chiua*, "to despise". Besides, Motelchiuh is designated also in the Sahagun manuscript of the *Academica de la Historia* in precisely the same way; that is, by the hieroglyph *te-tl* "stone" (*e*, figure 37).

Uanitzin, division 2, is hieroglyphically denoted by the flag (*pamitl*). *p*, *b*, and *w* are all kindred sounds, and our (German) *w*, or, more correctly, the English *w*, is the sound which the old grammarians intended to express by *u* or *v*, and the Jesuits by *hu*. It seems to be only an error when Chimalpahin occasionally writes Panitzin instead of Huanitzin; that is, Uanitzin. Uanitl is also denoted by a small flag in the Sahagun manuscript of the *Academia de la Historia* (*g*, figure 37).

Lastly, Oquiztli, in the first division above the lower path, is simply described by the hieroglyph of the city Azcapotzalco, whose ruler he was. Azcapotzalco means "in the place of the ant-hills". The city is therefore hieroglyphically expressed by the picture of an ant-hill (see *a* and *b*, the former taken from the Mendoza codex, the latter from a record preserved in the library of the Duke of Osuna). Here we see in the midst of small pebbles and grains of sand a creature, usually painted red and of a somewhat exaggerated shape, which is intended to represent an ant (*azcatl*).

I will now state briefly what is known concerning the subsequent fate of the four persons whom Chimalpahin mentions as companions of Quauhtemoc, the last free king of Mexico, and who in our manuscript are set down in due order underneath Quauhtemoc.

Tlacotzin seems to have been a grandson of Ahuitzotl, the eighth king of the Mexicans.^a He was therefore a near relative of Quauhte-

^a See *Anales de Chimalpahin*, Seventh Relation, ed. Rémi Siméon, p. 266, where the *xhuhuitzín inyn*, "the grandson of the previous one", can hardly refer to anyone but the previously mentioned Ahuitzotl.

moc, who was a son of Ahuitzotl. This probably explains the high position as *ciuacouatl*, which he held with and under Quauhtemoc. He took a very energetic part in the defense of the city of Mexico, according to the Aztec account preserved in the Sahagun manuscript of the Biblioteca Lorenziana, which was probably written by an eyewitness who was shut up in the beleaguered city with him. Tlacotzin is mentioned there with *tllilancalqui* Petlauhtzin and *uitznauatl* Motelchiuhtzin, and these three, as leaders of the *Tenocheas*, are placed opposite *tlacatecatl* Temilotzin and *tlacochealcatl* Coyouuetzin, the leaders of the *Tlatelolcas*, the inhabitants of the sister city of Tenochtitlan. After the conquest he, too, was baptized, and was then called Don Juan Velásquez Tlacotzin. After the execution of Quauhtemoc and his companions at Ueymollan, Cortes made him King of Mexico (*tlahtohuani mochiuh yn Tenochtitlan*) and equipped him like a Spaniard, presenting him with a sword, a dagger, and a white horse.^a Tlacotzin, however, was not destined to enter his native city as King. After having been absent for nearly three years with Cortes on the expedition to Honduras, which was one of hardships and privations, he died on the homeward journey, in 1526, at Nochiztlan.

Of Motelchiuh it has already been stated that he was not a prince of the blood, but had won his rank by distinguishing himself in war. In the passage from Chimalpahin quoted above he is mentioned with the title *calpixqui*, "keeper of the royal stores". This was the name given to the governors of subjugated provinces, whose chief duty it was to collect the tribute and convey it to the royal storehouses. In the Aztec account in the Sahagun manuscript he is called *uitznauatl* and *mexicatl achcauhtli*. The latter means simply "Mexican war chief". The former is one of the many military titles which were in use among the Mexicans, the actual meaning of which has not yet been determined. They probably referred to a particular gens (*calpulli*) and to its temple. After the conquest of the city Motelchiuh was also baptized, like the other noble Mexicans, and was named for his godfather, Don Andrés de Tapia Motelchiuh. We also see *Thapia Motelchiuh* written in our manuscript. After Tlacotzin's death at Nochiztlan, Motelchiuh was appointed his successor, but, as he was not a prince of the blood, actual royal dignity, the title *tlahtohuani*, could not be conferred on him. I feel convinced that Cortes took this opportunity to somewhat degrade the dignity. He is therefore merely mentioned as a war chief of Mexico (*Zan quauhtlahtohuani omochiuh Tenuchtitlan*), but we learn nothing of his activity in this capacity. He, too, ruled but a few years and died in the year 1530, during an expedition to the provinces of the northwest (*Teo-culhuacan*, the province of Jalisco), where he was serving in the Spanish

^a See *Anales de Chimalpahin*, Seventh Relation, ed. Rémi Siméon, p. 207.

army under Nuño de Guzmán. While bathing in the neighborhood of Aztatlan he was struck by the arrow of a Chichimec, a hostile Indian, and died of the wound.^a

Uanitzin was a nephew of the king Motecuhzoma. His father, whose name was Tezozomocli Acolnauacatl, was an elder brother of Motecuhzoma. Motecuhzoma was eventually called to the throne as the successor of his father, Axayacatl, by the choice of those who had the appointing power. But, according to a passage of unusual ethnologic interest in the annals of Chimalpahin, Tezozomocli inherited the dance yaociuacuicatl from Axayacatl, who bought it of the Tlailotlaque, a tribe of the Chalca, whose property it seems to have been. Uanitzin's mother belonged to the house of the princes of Ehcatepec, a place lying north of Mexico, at the northern base of the mountains of Guadalupe, near the lake of Xaltocan. In the year 1519, shortly before the arrival of the Spaniards, when Motecuhzoma had somewhat recovered from the extreme consternation into which he had been thrown by the first news of the appearance of the Spaniards, Uanitzin was installed by his uncle as ruler of Ecatepec, which belonged to him as his mother's heir. According to Chimalpahin, Uanitzin was at that time 20 years old. He seems to have taken no special part in the fighting during the siege. The Aztec account in the Sahagun manuscript of the Biblioteca Lorenziana does not mention him; but Chimalpahin states, as I have quoted above, that he was one of the Mexicans of high rank who were taken with Quauhtemoc as prisoners to Coyouacan. Cortes had so much regard for his descent (or for his youth?) that he did not have him put in chains like the others. After the princes were released from prison his mother immediately took him with her to Ehcatepec; as Chimalpahin says, she concealed him there (*ca ompa quitlatito yn inantzin Ehcatepec*), and the people of Ehcatepec recognized him as their king (*ynic ompa quintlahtocatlallique no yehuantin Ehcatepeca*). As a Christian he bore the name of Don Diego de Alvarado Uanitzin.

After Motelchiuh's death in the year 1530 the throne of Mexico was for a time unoccupied. After the return from Teocolhuacan, which occurred in 1532, the office of chieftain was conferred on a certain Xochiquentzin, who also was not a prince of the blood (*ynin ca no Mexica amo pilli*), but had only been a large landowner (*yecce huel chane catca Mexico*) and had held the office of a *calpixqui*, "a keeper of the royal stores" under the old kings. His house was in Calpul Teopan, the southeastern quarter of the city of Mexico, called already at that time the *barrio* of San Pablo. Xochiquentzin died, however, in the year 1536. The viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza, who had arrived in Mexico the year before, at first hesitated to fill the

^a Chimalpahin, pp. 209, 222, 266.

post again; but, in pursuance of his efforts to regulate the relations between the natives and the Spaniards, he found it advisable again to give a chief to the Indian population of the capital. In the year 1538 he appointed to the office Uanitzin, who, however, was not proclaimed king (tlahtohuani), nor could he be quauhtlahtouani, "war chief", on account of his rank; therefore he was installed in office under the Spanish title of "governador". He died as early as 1541. One of his sons, Don Cristóval de Guzmán Cecetzin, or Cecepaticatzin, was afterward, in 1559, the third gobernador of Mexico.

Finally, regarding Oquiztli, the fourth person, set down in our manuscript underneath Quauhtemoc, we know from Tezozomoc's Crónica that he was installed as king at Azcapotzalco at the same time as Uanitzin at Ecatepec. Tezozomoc also designates him as a nephew of Motecuhzoma; but I have no positive information as to who his parents were. Azcapotzalco had become subject to the Mexicans since 1429, when the old rulers were driven out and the land was divided.^a Oquiztli also seems to have taken no conspicuous part in the fighting during the siege. He was forced, with the other noble Mexicans, to accompany Cortes on his expedition into the forest regions of Chiapas and Honduras, and died there soon after the execution of Quauhtemoc, in the year 1542.^b

So much concerning these four. Of the other persons set down in our manuscript from the ninth division upward, only the one entered in division 16 (counting from the lower path) is better known. This, as the explanatory note tells us, is Don Diego de San Francisco Teuetzquititzin, the son of Tezcatlpopocatzin, who again was a son of Tizocicatzin, seventh king of Mexico, and lived subject to Spanish rule in Calpul Teopan, the barrio of San Pablo of Tenochtitlan. He was appointed gobernador of Mexico after Uanitzin's death, in 1541, and died there in the year 1554.^c The name Teuetzquiti means "the jester", "he who makes others laugh". The hieroglyph in our manuscript seems intended to represent a kind of comic mask. Elsewhere in the Sahagun manuscript of the Academia de la Historia, he is represented by an open mouth, *h*, and a namesake of his, Tetlaueuetzquititzin, who belonged to the royal family of Tetzcoco, and was gobernador of Tetzcoco at about the same time, is represented by an open mouth with the little tongue (*h*, figure 37), indicative of speech, before it. The head, behind which the hieroglyph in our manuscript is placed, is drawn with the royal headband of turquoise mosaic, as in the cases of Motecuhzoma, Quauhtemoc, Uanitzin, and Oquiztzin. Like them, Teuetzquititzin belonged to the royal family of Mexico.

^a Chimalpahin, p. 99.

^b Chimalpahin, p. 207.

^c Chimalpahin, pp. 241, 250; Sahagun manuscript, Academia de la Historia.

Of the other persons, I will first mention the one in division 7 (plate VII), counting from the lower path, besides Quauhtemoc, whom the explanatory note calls Don Martín Cortés Nezahual tecolotzin. The name is not known to me from other sources. The head is drawn with the hair hanging straight down, without the chieftain's hair dress and the royal headband; but above the head is the royal headband of turquoise mosiac. This is the well-known symbol used in the Mendoza codex for the office of tlacatecatl (see *a*, figure 38, page 17, of the Mendoza codex). The hieroglyph behind the head corresponds exactly to the name Nezahual tecolotl, which means

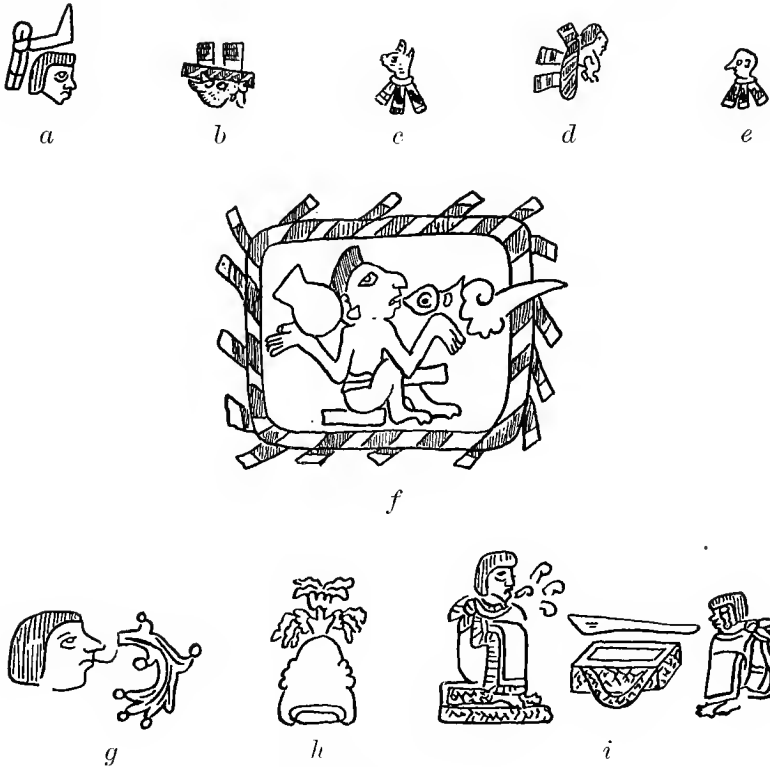


FIG. 38. Symbols of names.

“fasting owl”, for the back part of the hieroglyph shows plainly the face of an owl, and the front part a ribbon, woven of many-colored strips, with ends standing out, which is a familiar and universally understood symbol for nezahualli “fasting” (see the hieroglyphs of Nezahualcoyotl, “the fasting coyote”, *b* and *c*, same figure, and Nezahualpilli, “the fasting prince” or “the fasting child”, *d* and *e*). Those marked *b* and *d* are taken from the Codex Telleriano-Remensis and *c* and *e* from the Sahagun manuscript of the Academia de la Historia. The symbol was derived from the custom

of shutting oneself up for the purpose of fasting. When seclusion was not actually accomplished, it seems to have been indicated by a ring plaited of the stalks of the aztapilin, or aztopillin, a variety of rush of a whitish color below and green above (see *f*, taken from the Borgian codex, which represents the fasting person blowing the conch and carrying a water jug on his shoulder within an inclosure plaited of green and white strips). In parallel passages of the Borgian codex and Codex Vaticanus B a man is drawn, inclosed in a chest, waving the thorn of castigation in one hand and the green acxoyatl bush in the other. In corresponding passages of the Codices Telleriano-Remensis and Vaticanus A Quetzalcoatl, the god who was considered the inventor of castigation, appears armed in similar fashion in a boxlike inclosure, consisting of two parts.

A head follows in division 9 (plate VII), which, like that of Motelchiuh in division 3, wears the chieftain's hair dress (temillotl). The explanatory note calls this Anauacatzin, that is, "from the land by the water", "from the seacoast".^a This name is hieroglyphically represented here by a circle (island?) surrounded by water. In the list of names of persons (Manuscript Mexican number 3, Bibliothèque Nationale), already frequently quoted, Anauacatl occurs as the name of a citizen of Almojauacan and is expressed by *g*, that is, by a stream of water which is depicted before the mouth of a person, after the fashion of the little tongue which signifies speech. For atl is water and nahuatl clear, or intelligible, speech. I am unable to say where the Anauacatl of our manuscript belongs.

In division 10 follows a head with hair hanging straight down, which is designated in the accompanying note as Xaxaqualtzin. Xaqualona means "to rub", and this action is represented in the hieroglyph by two hands using a sort of scouring brush.

In the next division, 11, is another head with the chieftain's hair dress (temillotl). The explanatory note calls it Cuetlachivitzin, "wolf's feather", and this is expressed in the hieroglyph by the head of a wolf with tufts of down. In Chimalpahin's annals a Cuetlachiuitzin is mentioned who was installed as ruler of Tequanipan in 1561, and who died in 1572, but I am unable to say whether this is the one referred to in our manuscript. I do not think it at all probable, as there is nowhere in our manuscript an allusion to the region of the Chalcas.

In division 12 we have another head with hair hanging straight down. The note calls it uitznauatl, which is expressed in the hieroglyph by the thorny point of an agave leaf (uitztli, "thorn") and the small tongue of speech in front of it (nauatl, "clear speech").

^a I have shown in the comptes rendus of the eighth session of the Congrès International des Américanistes, Paris, 1890, pp. 586, 587, that the word Anauac means the seacoast, and that it is absurd to speak of the plateau of Anahuac.

The thorn, the sharp point of the agave leaf, is divided by an oblique line, and one half is painted red, to indicate that it is covered with blood. These thorny points of the agave leaf were used in religious self-castigations, and, as we frequently see on the last pages of the Mendoza codex, also largely for purposes of punishment and educational discipline. The word *uitznauatl* was a title, which in Mexico and elsewhere was connected with a certain military or political office. We saw above that *Motelchiuh* bore this title. The plural, *uitznaua*, denoted a class of evil spirits, which were conquered and destroyed by *Uitzilopochtli*, and *uitznauac*, or *uitznauatlampa*, is the region of the south.

In division 13 we have again a head with hair hanging straight down. The note says *uaxtepecatl petlascalcatl*. The first name means "one from Uaxtepec" (from the place of the *uaxin*, *Acacia esculenta*). Uaxtepec was a place in the district of Cuernavaca, therefore in a temperate region ("tierra templada"). Here was the *Jardin d'Acclimation* of the kings of Mexico; that is, they transplanted hither such trees and plants from the *tierra caliente* as seemed to them interesting, and came themselves for rest and recreation. The place is hieroglyphically represented by *h*, figure 38, that is, by a mountain and a tree from whose branches hang the long knobby *acacia* pods (usually painted red). *Petlascalcatl* means "the steward of the mat house". This was a kind of public storehouse, where were kept mats and other articles of furniture which were used when foreign royal guests came. The *petlascalcatl* directed the public works, as shown in *i* taken from the Mendoza codex, page 71. Here the *petlascalcatl* is represented on the left, with many little tongues before his mouth, to express the admonitions which he bestows upon those commanded to do the work. In the middle are the basket and the tool (*uictli*, or *coauacatl*), with which we are already acquainted, and to the right crouches the weeping youth commanded to do the work. The hieroglyph behind the man's head in division 13 of our manuscript (plate VII) refers to this function of the *petlascalcatl*, and represents the above-mentioned implement, which we have already met with as the hieroglyphic expression of *tlacohtli*. The first word in the accompanying note, "*uaxtepecatl*", is not expressed in the hieroglyph. I know of no person by this name. It is probable that "*uaxtepecatl*" does not stand here for the name of a person, but denotes the district to which the official belonged. We often find the governors of provinces mentioned by the adjective form of their district instead of by their proper name—*Cuetlaxtecatl*, "the governor of Cuetlaxtlan", etc. So here, too, *uaxtepecatl petlascalcatl* may mean merely "the keeper of the stores. the steward of the district of Uaxtepec".

Between divisions 13 and 14 in our manuscript there is a lesser stream of water, which, as I have said, leads straight across the page, from the path on the right to the water on the left. Then follows above, in division 14, a head with hair hanging straight down, in the explanatory note of which some of the letters are destroyed and made unintelligible by a dark stain; but the hieroglyph behind the head informs us that the note must be read Itzpotoncatzin; that is, "He who is stuck over with obsidian knives instead of with feathers". The hieroglyph shows us a stone knife (iztli, "knife", "obsidian") with tufts of down sticking to it (potonqui, "stuck over with feathers"). Feathers fastened to the hair and naked skin were part of the holiday dress. Young girls adorned themselves for a festival by



FIG. 39. Symbols from Mexican codices.

sticking red feathers to their arms and legs, and because this sticking on of feathers was part of the holiday dress the victim of sacrifice was similarly adorned, except that white feathers were used, to show that he was doomed to death. Those intended for the sacrificio gladiatorio, in particular, were smeared with white infusorial earth (tizatl) and stuck over with white down (iuitl) *a*, figure 39. To send tizatl and iuitl was therefore a declaration of war. The opponent was thus symbolically doomed to a sacrificial death. Hence in Codex Telleriano-Remensis the conquest of a city is invariably represented by the picture of a man painted white, with dots, and covered with tufts of down (*b*, figure 39), and in the Mendoza codex, page 47, we see the declaration of war against an insubordinate cacique

also represented in this way, *c*. The envoy of the king while he delivers his message is sticking feather tufts upon the head of the cacique, who sits in his chair clothed in a rich mantle. Another brings him the shield, which was also part of the equipment of those destined for the sacrificio gladiatorio.

In the next division, 15 (plate VII), we have a head with hair hanging straight down, which is called Ixeuatzin in the accompanying note. *Ix-tli* means "face", "front", "presence", "eye"; *euatl* means "the skin", and was also used especially to denote the gala doublets, made of feather work which were worn by Mexican warriors of rank over the wadded armor, *ichca-uipilli*, which served for the actual protection of their bodies. In *d*, figure 39, I have reproduced one of these military doublets of feather work which is used in the Mendoza codex, pages 40 to 49, as a hieroglyph for the city of Cozoupilecan "where the people wear military doublets of yellow feathers". A true *euatl*, that is, the skin flayed from a man (*tlacaenatl*), is worn by the god Xipe, "the flayed one", the red god of the Yopi and Tlapaneca. The hieroglyph in division 15 of our manuscript (plate VII), corresponding to the meaning given here for the name, is an eye (*ixtli*); above and below it is a shirt, as shown in *d*, figure 39, but having hands hanging from it and with a gash straight across the breast and a few stains below. It is evident that this drawing is not meant to represent a feather shirt, but a genuine human skin, such as Xipe wore. The opening straight across the breast indicates the incision which was made to tear out the victim's heart, and the stains are for blood stains. This is still more clear in the kindred hieroglyph in division 24 (plate VII), where the red stains—blood stains on a yellow ground, which indicates the death hue of a human skin—are plainly to be recognized.

After division 15 comes division 16, with the head and hieroglyph of Don Diego de San Francisco Teuetzquititzin, of which I have already spoken.

In division 17 is another head having the chieftain's hair dress, *temillotl*. The note says *coua-yvitzin*, "snake-feather", and this is represented in the hieroglyph by a snake covered with tufts of down. The name *Cona-iuitl* is mentioned in the annals of Chimalpahin. Chimalpahin tells us there that after the surrender of the city the above-mentioned five princes of Mexico were taken captive to Coyouacan, and then adds: *yhuan teohua Quauhcohuatl yhuan Cohuayhuitl Tecohuatzin Tetlanmecatl quintemolli* ("and they sought for the priest Quauhcoatl and for Couaiuitl Tecouatzin, Tetlanmecatl"). It is not impossible that the Couaiuitl mentioned here, concerning whom I know no further particulars, is also the one referred to in our manuscript.

In division 18 is a head with hair hanging straight down, which, according to the marginal note, bears the name Imexayacatzin. The hieroglyph is a human leg, upon the thigh of which is painted a face. This exactly reproduces the meaning of the name. Xayacatl means "the face", and imexayacatl is literally imex-xayacatl, which is derived, with syncopation of the final consonant of the first word, from imetzxayacatl, that is, "the face made of her thigh (metz-tli)". The name refers to a ceremony which was performed at the broom feast, Ochpaniztli, the feast of the goddess Teteo-innan, or Toci. A woman was sacrificed at this feast, who, as was customary at the feasts of the Mexicans, was considered an image of the divinity in whose honor the feast was held, and who represented this deity in dress and action. This woman was sacrificed by decapitation, a priest holding her on his back, and was then immediately flayed. A priest dressed himself in the skin, and represented the goddess during the remainder of the feast. From the skin of the thigh a mask was made, which was called mexayacatl, or more correctly i-mex-xayacatl, "the face made of her thigh". It was worn, together with a peculiar headdress, which was called itztlacoliuhqui, "the sharply curved", particularly described in the respective chapter of Sahagun (volume 2, chapter 30). It was considered the symbol of coldness and hardness, of infatuation, of evil, and of sin. I reproduce this mask and headdress, *f*, from the Sahagun manuscript of the Academia de la Historia, where the two combined are depicted as the insignia of a warrior, under the name mexayacatl. The mask (mexayacatl) and the headdress (itztlacoliuhqui) were put on by Cinteotl, the god of the maize plant, or more exactly of the ripe, hard, dry ear of corn, which was called cintli, who was the son of the old earth mother, Teteoinnan, and a battle then ensued between him and his followers on the one hand, and the priest clad in the human skin, representing the goddess, on the other, which was undoubtedly meant to symbolize the driving away of frost and other harmful things which threaten the Indian corn. These harmful things were supposed to be conjured into the mexayacatl. Therefore at the close of the feast a chosen band of warriors carried it at a running pace somewhere across the borders into hostile country.^a

In the next division, 19, the note gives the name xipanocztin. This should really read xip-panoc-tzin, derived by assimilation from xiuh-panoc-tzin, just as xip-palli, "color turquesado", is derived from xiuh-palli. Accordingly, the name contains the elements xiuh (or, with the article, xiuitl), "turquoise", and panoc, "he who crosses a river" (from pano, "to cross a river"). Both elements are clearly expressed in the hieroglyph. Xiuh is expressed by the hieroglyph for tur-

^a Sahagun, v. 2, chap. 30.

quoise (see *l*, figure 34) and “crossing the river” by the boat which is drawn below it.

In division 20 (plate VII) the note is again rendered quite illegible by the crease in the page, but I think that I can distinctly make out Tepotzitotzin. The name contains the elements tepotz-tli, “hump-back”, and itoa, “to speak”. Hence the hieroglyph shows a human body with a curved back and beside it the little tongue, the symbol of speech.

In the next division, 21, the note is somewhat illegible, owing to an attempted correction. I think I can make out yaotequacuiltzin, which might be translated “the old priest of Yaotl, i. e., Tezcatlipoca”. There is no hieroglyph.

In division 22 the explanatory note reads aca-zayol-tzin, that is, “reed gnat”. The hieroglyph is the picture of the reed (acatl) and, above it, of a gnat (zayolin), painted brown.

In division 23 we read Amaquemetzin, “he who wears a garment of bark paper”. By quemitl, “garment”, the Mexicans meant a kind of covering usually made of more or less costly feathers, which was tied around the neck of idols and hung down in front, and was therefore commonly called by the Spaniards “delantal”. Amatl is the inner bark of a variety of fig, which was much used in ancient Mexico, especially as a cheap adornment for idols. Amaqueme, “dressed in a garment of bark paper”, was the name of the idol on the mountain near Amaquemecan, in the territory of the Chalca, which, Christianized and called Monte Sacro, is still held in great veneration by the inhabitants of all the neighboring valleys, pilgrimages being made to it from great distances. The hieroglyph in division 23 shows the form of the quemitl usual in the manuscripts (see *e*, figure 39, the hieroglyph of Tequemecan, and also *c*, figure 35, the hieroglyph of Aztaquemecan), but it is blank and unpainted save for a few black designs, which were probably made with drops of hot liquid caoutchouc. Similar paper quemitl with caoutchouc-drop markings played an important part in the worship of the mountain gods at least. With them were decked the little idols of the mountain gods, the Eecatotontin, which were made during the Tepeilhuitl, the feast of the mountain gods (see *g* and *h*, figure 39, the figures of the mountains Popocatepetl and Matlalcueye, from the Sahagun manuscript of the Biblioteca del Palacio). I will mention, by the way, that Kingsborough’s artist has erroneously colored this hieroglyph red and yellow, though it must be and is colorless.

In division 24 (plate VII) the explanatory note gives the name eua-tlatitzin, that is, “he who hides the skin”. An euatl, a doublet made of a human skin, forms the hieroglyph, like the one in division 15. The name eua-tlati-tzin probably refers to the ceremony which was performed at the close of Tlacaxipenaliztli, the feast of the god Xipe,

when those who for 20 days had worn the skins of the sacrificed victims, out of special devotion to Xipe, carried them in solemn procession to a certain place in Xipe's temple. This was called eua-tlati-lo, "the hiding or putting away of the skins".

The twenty-fifth square is blank. In the twenty-sixth square a head is drawn which the writing above it calls Teilpitzin, that is, "he who binds people". The hieroglyph shows a rope tied in a knot, a sufficiently intelligible symbol.

This ends the list. Few familiar names are mentioned, as we see, and these belong to about the same period. They are all the direct successors of Motecuhzoma, excepting the first one, Cuitlauatzin (*e*, figure 37), who, it is well known, died of smallpox after reigning a few weeks, and who, excepting the last two gobernadores, Cecepatitzin, who succeeded Teuetzquititzin, and his successor, Nanacacipactzin, were the last of the ancient royal family to exercise any kind of royal authority. It therefore seems as though our fragment treated of territory which was a royal demesne, but which after Motecuhzoma's death probably did not pass as a whole to his successors, but was in part divided with others.

It is my opinion that this manuscript formed a part of the collection brought together by Boturini, and that it is described as number 8, section 8, in his Museo Indiano. Boturini there gives the following description: Otro mapa en papel indiano, donde se pintan, al parecer y por lo que se puede decir ahora, unas tierras solariegas de señores, empezando de dicho Emperador Moteuchzúma, y siguiendo á otros hasta los tiempos de la cristiandad ("Another map on Indian paper, where are painted, apparently and so far as can be said now, lands belonging to different lords, beginning with the said Emperor Moteuchzúma, and afterward to others down to the times of Christianity").

FRAGMENTS III AND IV

These (plates VIII and IX) are two fragments of a larger manuscript, which belonged to the collection of the Cavaliere Boturini. In the inventory of the collection made after Boturini's imprisonment it is described in the fourth list, under number 26, in the following words: Un mapa grande, papel de maguey gordo con pinturas toscas, muy maltratado; trata de las cosas de la conquista de Cuanmaná y otros lugares, de los Españoles, con unos rios de sangre, que indican las batallas crueles que hubo de los Indios ("A large map on coarse aloe paper, with rude paintings, in very bad condition, treats of events during the conquest of Cuanmaná and other places by the Spanish, with rivers of blood, which indicates the cruel battles which they waged with the Indians").^a Boturini himself describes it as

^a Peñafiel, Monumentos del arte mexicano. Text, p. 61.



MEXICAN PAINTING—HUMBOLDT FRAGMENT III

number 2, section 20, in the *Catálogo del Museo Indiano del Cavallero Boturini*, somewhat more in detail. He says there: *Otro mapa muy grande de una pieza, y maltratado á los dos lados, de papel grueso indiano. Tiene de largo algo mas de ocho varas, y de ancho dos varas y quarta, y trata con toscas pinturas de las crueles guerras de la gentilidad entre diferentes pueblos, cuyos nombres son Hecatèpec, Huyatèpec, Amoltèpec, Nièntlah, Tzatzacuàlan, Hueymètlan, Coltèpec, Antlalcaltèpec, Tepechàlla, Xiquipilco, Achàlalan, Zayutèpec, Teconhùac, Totolhuitzècan, Yahueyòcan, Zacatzòlah, Mazapila, y despues de haver demonstrado con unos rios de sangre, assi lo cruento de la guerra, como de los prisioneros sacrificados, apunta la llegada del gran Cortes, y de los Padres de San Francisco en Quauhmánco, etc.* (“Another map, very large, in one piece, in bad condition at both sides, on thick Indian paper. It is some 8 ells long and 2½ ells wide, and treats in rude paintings of the cruel wars of the gentry with various tribes, whose names are Hecatèpec, Huyatèpec, Amoltèpec, Nièntlah, Tzatzacuàlan, Hueymètlan, Coltèpec, Antlalcaltèpec, Tepechàlla, Xiquipilco, Achàlalan, Zayutèpec, Teconhùac, Totolhuitzècan, Yahueyòcan, Zacatzòlah, Mazapila, and after having shown by rivers of blood both the cruel nature of the war and the prisoners who were sacrificed, it relates to the coming of the great Cortes and of the Franciscan fathers to Quauhmánco, etc.”)^a

That these descriptions refer to the manuscript of which fragments III (plate VIII) and IV (plate IX) of the present collection are parts follows from the general characterization of the manuscript and from the reference to the rivers of blood (*rios de sangre*), which are indeed very conspicuous on our page; unfortunately, they are not as obvious in the uncolored photographic reproduction. This is clearly proved by the fact that three of the names of places mentioned by Boturini are actually mentioned in the explanatory notes of our fragment III. The last three places mentioned by Boturini, *Yahuayòhca*, *Zacateotlah*, and *Mazapillah* (I read the names thus), are the ones that occur on the fragment. Our fragment must belong to one of the original lateral margins of the manuscript. The missing pieces, which must be very considerable, since in Boturini’s time the whole measured 8 ells in length and 2½ ells in width, are extant elsewhere, whether intact or not I can not say. The Museo Nacional de México possesses large portions of them. I saw copies of them last year in the Mexican department of the American historical exhibition at Madrid, and other parts—as it seems, very important ones, taken from what was originally the middle—I saw years ago in the Biblioteca Nacional in Mexico.

Boturini states that there had been in his possession a second, similar

^a *Idea de una nueva historia general de la América septentrional.* App., pp. 38, 39.

manuscript, on which, among others, were the place names Tonalxochitlan, Quauhtèpan, Ynenechcòyan, Tepeyahuàlco, Ohocòtlan, Tlilàlpan, and Ameyalàto on the one side; and on the other, Huixocotèpec, — Huecoyòtzi, — Coyòcan, Quetzalcohuàpan, Tlacòtlan, — Atlan, Quimichòcan, — Chipetzinco, Quanàpa, — Tepeyahuàlco, Yxtlahuàca, Ocotzoquauhàtla. This and the first manuscript were found together—enterrados en una caja baxo las ruinas de la antigua ermita de la jurisdiccion de Huamàntla, Provincia de Tlaxcàllan, y de alli los hice sacar (“buried in a box beneath the ruins of the ancient monastery in the district of Huamàntla, province of Tlaxcàllan, and from there I had them taken”)—and he adds: “Y solo se prieden interpretar en un todo, en ocasion que se consulten los manuscritos de la Historia general (“and they can only be interpreted as a whole, whenever the manuscripts of the general history are consulted”).

This information is very important, because the region from which fragments III and IV of our collection came is thus definitely fixed. The place called “Quauhmanco” in Boturini’s description of the leaf and “Cuanmana” in the inventory is undoubtedly Huamàntla, situated in the province of Tlaxcàllan, at the northeast base of the Cerro de la Malinche (the mountain called in ancient times after the goddess Matlalcueye), in the neighborhood of which Boturini found the two remarkable manuscripts. Huamàntla doubtless stands for Quamantla, which, in turn, is derived by contraction from Quauhmantlan. In fact, there are still extant in that region many of the names which Boturini mentions as occurring on these two charts. I can not, it is true, accurately define the position of the three several places whose names occur on fragment III (plate VIII), but it is beyond a doubt that they were in the same region.

As for the representations on these pages, the portions belonging originally to the middle must be distinguished from those belonging to the borders. The principal part of the left side of fragment III (plate VIII) belongs to the part which was originally the middle. Here we see, first, surrounded by flying spears and fighting warriors, a curious design in which a stream of water, painted blue, with drawings of currents and whirlpools and with the usual snail shells on the branches, is intertwined with a band winding in a similar manner and frayed at the ends, composed of alternate sections of gray with dark figures and yellow with red figures. The alternate dark sections and light yellow sections with red figures denote fire, and the entire symbol is nothing more than the pictorial hieroglyphic expression for the well-known phrase *atl tlachinolli*, or *teoatl tlachinolli*, which may be understood as meaning literally “water and fire”, although its original meaning was probably something else, and which is generally used in the sense of “war”. The same symbol, somewhat differently

drawn (see *a*, figure 40), may be seen in the headdress of the god Camaxtli, the war god of the Tlaxcaltecs, who is opposite the fire god, the ruler of the ninth week, which begins with ce Coatl, on page 9 of the Tonalamatl in the Aubin-Goupil collection. I have shown that the tonalamatl occurs in the most diverse Mexican picture writings with the same regents and essentially the same symbols or symbols derived from the same idea.^a If we take the Borgian codex, for instance, we find here, too, the fire god depicted as the ruler of the ninth week, ce Coatl. But opposite him we have not the effigy of Camaxtli, the war god of Tlaxcala, but a design (*b*, figure 40) in which we clearly recognize, besides a scorpion and flying arrows, the

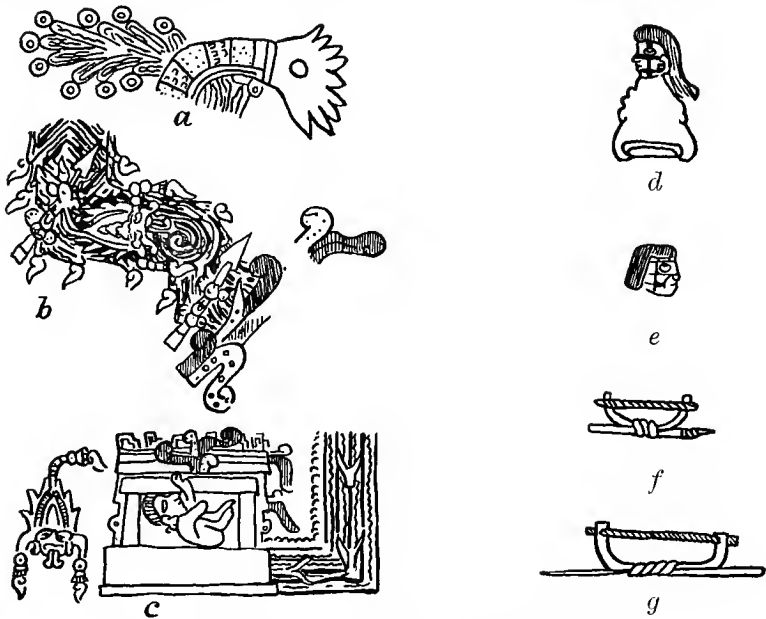


FIG. 40. Symbols and figures from the Mexican codices.

stream of water and the ascending smoke of fire. In another parallel passage in the same manuscript there is again drawn opposite the fire god, instead of the war god, merely a scorpion, a stream of water, and a burning house, *c*, teotl tlachinolli, the symbol of war.

The bodies of the warriors on our fragment (plate VIII), to the right of the teotl tlachinolli, the symbol of war, are painted brown and the faces yellow, like the other figures on this fragment. Moreover, all the warriors have a characteristic red face painting, which consists of one vertical stripe and two horizontal stripes. This painting undoubtedly has some special ethnic significance. At least it differs

^a Über den Codex Borgia und die verwandten aztekischen Bilderschriften.

from the painting customary among the Mexican warriors, who, as we learn from Sahagun, app. 3, chapter 5, and as we see represented throughout the Mendoza codex, colored the whole body black except the face, and this they painted with a few black stripes, on which they sprinkled powdered iron pyrites—*niman mîchio, mitoaya motliltzotia, hapetzli ic conpotonia ininechival*, “Y en la cara se ponían ciertas rayas con tinta y margagita”.^a On the other hand, I find face painting like that of the warriors of our fragment III (plate VIII) on the head set upon a mountain, which is given in the Mendoza codex as the hieroglyph of the city of Otompan, “in the district of the Otomís”, *d* (figure 40), as well as in a drawing, *e*, which, in the list of names of persons of Uexotzinco (Manuscript Mexican number 3, Bibliothèque Nationale), denotes a man named Chichimeca. We know that the name Chichimeca was borne as an honorary title by the rulers of Tetzoco and, especially, by the Tlaxcaltecs. Red and yellow painting is mentioned as occurring among the Mexicans, but it was not a mark of distinction regularly conferred by official consent, as I would emphasize in controversion of some recent statements, but a symbolic ceremony, performed but once, by which it was publicly made known that a warrior had taken a prisoner alone, without help from others. This painting, which consisted in coloring the body and temples yellow and the face red, was applied to the fortunate warrior in the presence of the king by the *calpixque*, the governors of the provinces, and the commanders of divisions of troops stationed at a distance, the recipient being afterward rewarded by the king. It is exactly the same decoration as the one worn by those who sacrificed a prisoner by fire at the feast *Xocotl-uetzi* in honor of the fire god. I have spoken elsewhere of the meaning of this manner of painting the face, which is really that of the goddess *Ciuacouatl*, or *Quilaztli* (see *Ausland*, 1891, page 865).

Beside *atl tlachinolli*, the symbol of war, we have six warrior figures and the lower half of a seventh in our fragment III (plate VIII). Five of them wear the warrior's hair dress (*temillotl*) (see *l* and *m*, figure 37, and the heads in divisions 3, 9, 11, and 17, counting from the lower path, on fragment II (plate VII) of this collection). All these are armed with the shield (*chimalli*) and the club (*maquauitl*), which has an edge of obsidian splinters on both sides.^b So, too, the three warriors drawn on the right side of the fragment have the *temillotl* and are armed with shield and *maquauitl*. Only one warrior in the left-hand row, the fifth from below, has the other style of hair dress, which I described above as *tzotzocolli*, and which is illustrated by *o*,

^a *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1887, v. 21, p. 175 and following, “das Tonalamatl der Aubinschen Sammlung”. *Compte rendu*, seventh session, *Congrès International des Américanistes*, Berlin, 1888, pp. 521-523.

^b See also the pictures of Mexican warriors' ornaments, *m*, *p*, and *q*, fig. 37.

p, *q*, figure 37. This warrior is not armed with shield and club, but with arrow (*mitl*), bow (*tlautolli*), and quiver (*mi-comitl*). The different mode of wearing the hair may be due merely to difference of rank, for the hair dress (*temillotl*), was the distinguishing mark of the *tequiu*, the great war chieftains. Still I think that there is also an ethnic difference apparent here. The *maquauitl* was the national weapon of the Mexican tribes, that is, of the inhabitants of the valley of Mexico and those who spoke their language. Besides this the spear (*tlacochtli*, *tlatzontectli*), thrown with the spear thrower (*atlatl*), was also used as an effective weapon. On the other hand, bow, arrow, and quiver were the weapons of the mountain tribes, the Chichimecs. The name Chichimecatl is reproduced in the Boturini codex and elsewhere simply by the picture of a bow and arrow (*f* and *g*, figure 40). The word Chichimecatl includes a multitude of very different tribes, speaking different languages. In the vicinity of the highlands of Mexico, and also in the district referred to on our fragment, that is, the region lying east and north of Tlaxcala, the only mountain tribe of importance is the Otomi. It is a remarkable fact that this very tribe wore the hair in a mode most closely resembling that which I have described above as *tzotzocolli*, which may be seen worn by the fifth figure from below in the left-hand row on our fragment. The Otomi, says Sahagun (volume 10, chapter 29), shaved the hair on the forehead and let it grow very long at the back of the head. This hair hanging down long behind was called *piochtli*. At the gates of Tlaxcallan, as we know from Gomara, Otomi was actually spoken. The god of the Tlaxcaltecs was not Tezcatlipoca bearing the spear thrower, but the arrow-shooting *Camaxtli*, who is never seen without the pouch in which he carries his arrowheads of flint. And the ruder, more rustic, but also warlike, nature which was attributed to the Tlaxcaltecs was undoubtedly due to the stronger admixture of the indigenous Chichimec, that is, Otomi, element.

The shields which the chieftains hold in their hands are of three sorts. The fourth figure from below in the left row holds a shield whose surface is decorated with five tufts of down arranged in a quincunx. Such shields are mentioned in the Sahagun manuscript under the name of *iui-teteyo*, "decorated with single balls of feathers". Another shield, on whose surface are five small gold plates arranged in a quincunx, is called, correspondingly, *teocuitla-teteyo*. The shield with the tufts of down arranged in a quincunx is carried by the idol of *Uitzilopochtli* (see the picture of it in *Codices Telleriano-Remensis I*, page 9, and *Vaticanus A*, page 71, which represents the fifteenth annual festival, *Panquetzaliztli*, the feast of *Uitzilopochtli*). *Uitzilopochtli*'s shield is called *teuenelli*. It is described as follows in the Sahagun manuscript of the *Biblioteca Lorenziana*: *Otlatl in tlachi-*

valli, otlachimalli, nauhean tlapotonilli quauhtlachcayotica, iuicha-chapanqui, moteneua teueuelli; that is, "made of reeds, with eagle's down stuck on it in four places in conglomerate masses; it is called teueuelli". Together with the shield, Uitzilopochtli bears four spears that are tipped with tufts of down instead of stone points, which were called tlauaçomalli.^a The shield with the tufts of down also appears constantly in the Mendoza codex, where the symbol of war—shield, spear thrower, and bundle of spears—is represented before the picture of the king. From this latter fact it has been concluded that this shield was used by the Mexican kings; but I doubt whether this was the case. Uitzilopochtli bears this shield, as he bears the tlauaçomalli (the four spears tipped with tufts of down instead of stone); that is, he has the weapons which were placed in the hand of those destined to a sacrificial death—to the sacrificio gladiatorio (see *a* and *b*, figure 39), because to a certain extent he represents the conception of a warrior's death—a death by sacrifice on the round stone (temalacatl). There is an interesting statement in regard to these weapons of Uitzilopochtli in the annals of Chimalpahin. We read there that the elder Motecuhzoma in the year 1440, before he was installed as a ruler, went to the Chalca to beg the princes of Amaquemecan to set in motion the otlanamitl and the teueuelli (ynic conolinique in otlanamitl in teuenelli), in order that the Tepanecs might be subdued (inic opopolih in Tepanecatl).^b Here teueuelli is the name of Uitzilopochtli's shield and otlanamitl should read otlanamitl. The latter word is derived by contraction from otlauh-mitl and means "the four bamboo arrows". The whole is undoubtedly only a figure of speech.^c Motecuhzoma simply asks the Chalca to support him in war against the Tepanecs. But that a figurative expression of this kind could be used proves that teueuelli universally denoted the shield of the war god, for the god of the Chalca was not Uitzilopochtli, but Tezcatlipoca.

The shields of the other warriors on our fragment III (plate VIII) are of two types, the two which occur most frequently among the armor depicted in the tribute list and in the Mendoza codex. The first, third, and sixth warriors, from below, in the left row and the lower of the two on the right side, have shields whose surface exhibits a stepped meander pattern, undoubtedly executed in feather work, as on the ancient Mexican shields in the Museum of National Antiquities at Stuttgart. A shield of this kind was called xicalcolihqui

^a Veröffentlichungen aus dem Königlichen Museum für Völkerkunde, v. 1, p. 122.

^b Chimalpahin, Seventh Relation, pp. 105, 106.

^c Rémi Siméon translates the passage: qu'ils transportassent les engins de guerre pour renverser les Tépanèques ("that they would transport the engines of war to overthrow the Tepanecs"). It does not refer to engines of war, nor would the Chalcas, if they had owned such a fetish, have actually given it out of their keeping, nor, finally, does on-oli-ni mean to transport to any other place.

chimalli.^a The pattern on the Stuttgart shield is executed in green and yellow, and the shields of this kind on the tribute list have the same colors, without a single exception. On our fragment the colors chosen are blue and red. The second warrior, from below, in the left row and the adjacent upper right-hand warrior have a shield with concave cross bands curving upward, with one golden crescent above and three below. Such shields were called *cuexyo chimalli*.^b The background of these shields is usually red, and so it is on our fragment. The warrior who follows in the upper row on the left, of whom only the lower half is visible, has a shield with a plain red surface. Concerning the other weapons and articles of dress there is not much to be said.

The maquauitl, strangely enough, is painted blue in every instance. The Mexicans frequently denoted metal (silver), and usually turquoise mosaic, by blue in their paintings. But there can be no question of metal here, for a metal club would not be armed with splinters of obsidian, and turquoise mosaic was employed only in the ornamentation of costly gala weapons, if at all. The clubs might have been painted blue in imitation of turquoise mosaic, just as warriors wore wooden ear pegs painted blue instead of those incrustated with turquoise, as worn by the king.^c

Arrows and spears are represented, as in all Mexican paintings, tipped with stone. The feathers at the nock end are applied somewhat below the end of the shaft, so that the end of the arrow can be placed on either the bow string or the peg of the spear thrower. The feathers are drawn en face, that is, with the broad side next the shaft. This, however, is probably due to defective drawing. In reality they must have lain perpendicular to the shaft. Thus, eyes are never drawn in profile, as they actually are in a face drawn in profile, but are always drawn en face. A ball of down is invariably attached to the base of the feather. The quiver worn by one warrior on our fragment is painted yellow, with black spots, and is therefore supposed to be made of jaguar skin. All the figures are naked, save for the *maxtlatl*, "breecloth," which is here painted red in all cases.

The warriors in the row on the left are represented as engaged in combat. Each of the three on the right side is dragging a prisoner, and broad streams of blood mark the paths they have traversed with their captives. Opposite the middle one of the three warriors is a man who seems to be in the act of receiving the victim with animated gestures. He wears only a red cap on his head, and is perhaps meant for a priest.

^a Veröffentlichungen aus dem Königlichen Museum für Völkerkunde, v. 1, pp. 140, 141.

^b Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1891, v. 23, p. 137.

^c *Yuan conaquia xiuhnacochtli, uel xiuitl, auh yn egeuntin can quauitl yn tlachlualli tlaxiuhcuilolli* ("and they wear turquoise ear pegs, which are made of turquoise, and others wear them of wood only, which are painted after the manner of turquoise"). Sahagun, v. 2, chap. 37. Manuscript Biblioteca del Palacio.

These representations of war and capture are bordered on the right side of the fragment by another series of pictures at right angles to the former. Here, somewhat crudely and awkwardly executed, is a series of place hieroglyphs, before each of which is drawn a personage seated on a chair, who must be meant for the ancestor of the tribe settled in that place. Most of these personages seem to hold flowers in their hands, probably to express peaceful enjoyment, therefore secure dominion. The king in Codex Vaticanus A, page 86, is similarly depicted, richly dressed, with a tobacco pipe in one hand and a bunch of flowers in the other.

At the beginning of the series below, on the left, there is still to be seen the head of one of these figures and the bunch of flowers which he holds in his hand. All the rest is missing.

Then follows a mountain with a thatched house on its top, and in front of it sits a man whose name is represented by the eagle's head above. The explanatory note reads: *níca yahuayohca yn toca cuitli yn toconcol*, that is, "here is the place called *yauayohcan*. *Cuitli*, 'hawk', is the ancestor". *Yauayocan* might mean "where they walk in a circle". *Cuitli* is undoubtedly a dialect expression for *cuixtli* (*cuixin*, *cuiztli*), the name of a smaller bird of prey (*cuixin*, "milano"). I find *cuixtli* as a proper name, for instance, in the list of names



FIG. 41. Mexican glyphs from list of names.

of *Almoyauacan* in the Manuscript Mexicain number 3, Bibliothèque Nationale (see *a*, figure 41).

Then follows a house with a stone roof and a person in front of it, above whom we see the head of the wind god by way of name hieroglyph. The place hieroglyph which doubtless was originally over the house is missing, and as there is no explanatory note there is naturally nothing to be said regarding the place. According to the hieroglyph, the person must have been named *Ehecatl*, a word which often occurs as the name of a person. On account of their unusual form, I give three designs, *c*, *d*, *e*, which in the list of names of *Almoyauacan* (Manuscript Mexicain number 3) designate persons by the name of *Ehecatl*.

Next follows a mountain with a bush on the top, painted rose-color; in front of it, a house with a stone roof; and before this, sitting on the *tepotzo-icpalli*, the woven-straw seat with a back, a personage whose name is indicated by a jaguar's head above. The note says: *Auh nicah zacateotlah yn toconcol yn tocah ocnllotli* ("and here follows *Zacateotlan*. His ancestor's name was *Ocelotl*"). *Boturini* read this *Zacatzotlah*. As I read the name, it contains the words



MEXICAN PAINTING—HUMBOLDT FRAGMENT IV

zaca-tl, "grass", teo-tl, "god", and the final syllable tla or tlan, which has the significance of a locative. Ocoatl, "jaguar", is a very common proper name.

The last picture in the series is again a house with a stone roof; but the place hieroglyph, which must have been there originally, is missing. A personage is drawn in front of the house, whose name is given above by the representation of a stone knife (tecpatl). Here, too, there is a note, but it is almost illegible. The place name, in particular, can not be deciphered. I read: Nica mazap — lc — yn toca —.

The notes, few words as they contain, are remarkable on account of their dialect form. In classic Aztec, nican means "here"; tocōcol, "our ancestor"; ocelōtl, "the jaguar". The writer who added the notes on our fragment III (plate VIII) drops the final nasal after the short a in nican, and writes nica and nicah. And thus yahuayohca and zacateotlah probably stand for yanayocan and zacateotlan. After the long vowels o and e, on the other hand, he inserts a nasal. He distinctly writes, both times, toconcol, "our ancestor", and ocnllotl, "the jaguar". I will mention here that, also in Tezozomoc's *Crónica Mexicana*, compilli is written for cōpilli, and occasionally also ocnlotl. So, too, we occasionally find in Sahagun Tontec for Totec (one of Xipe's names).

Fragment IV is, as I have said, and as inspection shows, a piece of the same manuscript to which fragment III (plate VIII) belonged; but it is difficult to determine whether it should be added to any part of it.

On fragment IV (plate IX) we have, to the right, the figure of a warrior and the shield and maquauitl of another. The face painting and ornaments are the same as those of the warrior figures on the previous fragment, but the shield has a plain red surface. Beside the foremost warrior is a word which I read Ehcaquiyauh. The quiyauh seems quite plain, but the other part is perhaps doubtful. Ehcaquiyauh would mean "wind and rain". Below the figures of warriors there is executed on a large scale a stream of water, with drawings of whirlpools on its surface and snail shells on its branches. On the upper edge there is a series of representations, proceeding from the left, which correspond to those on the right side of fragment III (plate VIII). But there are no explanatory notes. The houses are thatched with straw. The small benches on which the personages sit are all painted blue, like the wood of the maquauitl. The first person from the left seems to carry the picture of a six-rayed or seven-rayed star, painted yellow, above his head, by way of a name hieroglyph. Hence the man's name was probably Citlal. Over the head of the second I think I see the drawing of a bone, and over the third that of a

thorn. These people were therefore probably called Omitl and Uitz. The angular figure over the head of the fourth person, which seems likewise to be a name hieroglyph, I can not explain.

Footprints are drawn on both fragments, running between the various representations, denoting a road or a journey in each respective direction. On fragment III (plate VIII) the lower row of footprints leads from above on the left to below on the right; the upper row from below on the right to above on the left. On fragment IV (plate IX) there is a similar indication of paths leading in two directions. If we hold the fragment as the figures stand, the footprints on the left lead downward from above—in this row there is but one

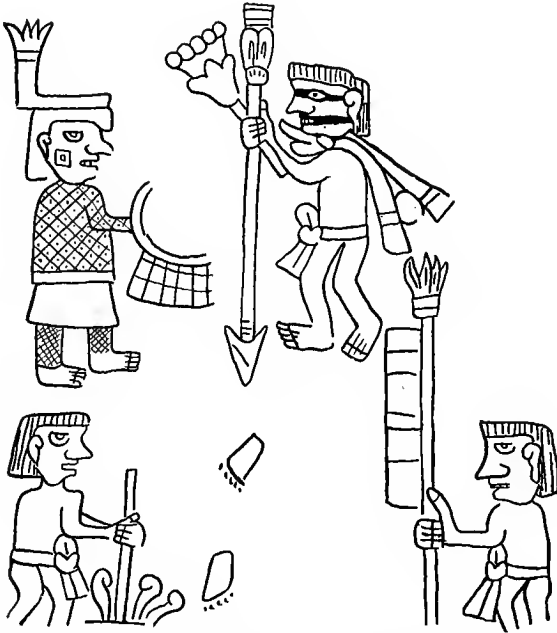


FIG. 42. Figures from Mexican manuscript, fragment IV.

footprint—but on the right they lead upward from below. The tracks themselves, rudely sketched, are very different from the usual delicate drawing which we saw, for instance, in the paths on fragment II (plate VII). But this very fact showed me at a glance that a fragment preserved years ago in the Biblioteca Nacional at Mexico, from which I made a little drawing at the time, must have belonged to the same large manuscript. Here, in a bow-shaped green inclosure, are to be seen the four persons whom I reproduce in figure 42 from the drawing just mentioned. Above, on the right, is a man invested in the insignia of a priest, *meca-cozcatl* and *ie-tecomatl* (see pages 146 to 148), wearing the face painting of the fire god, the god who

was considered the old and original god, and holding in his hand a nosegay and a spear. Opposite him is a goddess with an erect, horn-like tuft of feathers on her head, therefore probably Xochiquetzal. Below, on the right, is an attendant god or priest with a banner in his hand. Below, on the left, is another, who is procuring fire by friction. Beside the latter the date *chicuey ytzcuintli* is written, which must be meant to represent the name of this person. Beside the banner-bearer is the word *Xochitonal* (?). Beside the chief figure above, on the right, is another explanatory note, which I probably copied incorrectly, for I can not interpret it; but it begins with

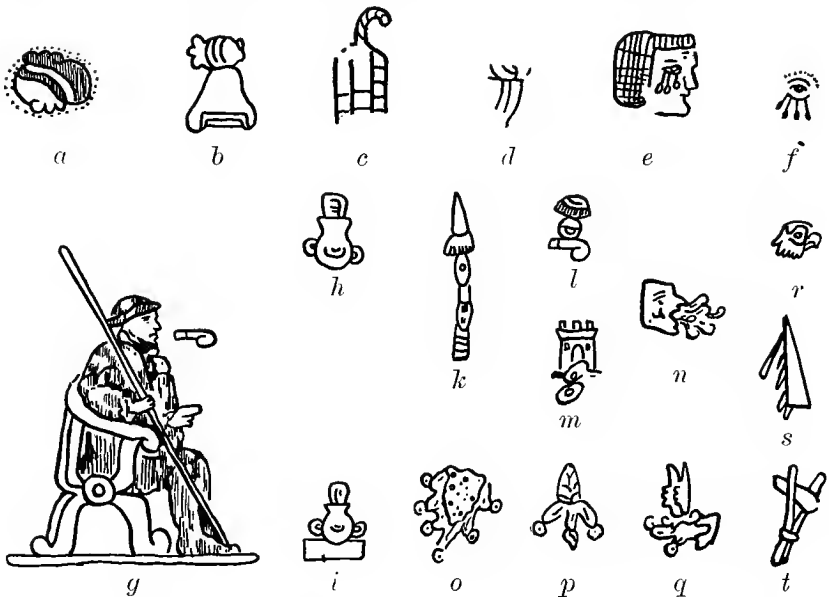


FIG. 43. Mexican name glyphs.

the word *nicah*, the same word in the same dialect form with which the notes begin on fragment III (plate VIII) of our collection.

It is greatly to be desired that the present very able and energetic director of the Museo Nacional of Mexico may speedily publish also the fragments of this great manuscript, now in the possession of the museum, for in spite of its coarse and clumsy drawings the manuscript is very interesting.

FRAGMENT V

Next we have a piece of agave paper 42 cm. long and 15½ cm. wide, divided into ten divisions by cross lines (plate X). The writer seems to have begun in the old way (see fragment I, plates II to VI of this

collection), at the bottom, and to have proceeded upward, for there appears to have been nothing above the topmost line. It is to be noted that the drawings are made in a different ink, blacker and more permanent, than that in which the names were entered.

About the middle of the fragment, in the sixth division from below, we have the hieroglyph of a place. I think the explanatory note should be read *tezontepec*. The hieroglyph is in the familiar form of a mountain (*tepe-tl*) bearing a tree. But the mountain is here divided, as it were, into a series of cliffs and prominences, which are painted a light bluish green in the middle and reddish at the edges, and its surface is diagonally crossed by a band contrasting sharply with the rest of the coloring. The light diagonal band is probably intended to recall the familiar hieroglyph of the stone (*tetl*) (see *n*, figure 37, and *a*, figure 43, the hieroglyph of *Tepoxauac*, "where the stones are loose"). The alternately lighter and darker portions in this hieroglyph reproduce the various veinings of stone. In our hieroglyph irregular black stripes occur, both on the diagonal band and on the various cliffs and prominences of the mountain. This, I believe, is meant to indicate the porous quality of the stone, for *tezontli* means "stone froth". This was the Mexican name for a porous stone which occurs in the valley of Mexico, and which, like the Roman travertine, has been much used for building purposes from the earliest times. In the *Pintura del Gobernador, Alcaldes y Regidores de México*, which is preserved in the archives of the Duke of Osuna, a village called *Tezontepec* (*b*, same figure) is mentioned in a list with *Hueyepochtlan*, *Tequisquiac*, *Nestlalapan*, *Tlemaco*, etc., as subject to a "comandero". It is very likely the place in the district of *Tula*, state of *Hidalgo*, which is still known by that name. The report published by Doctor *Peñafiel*, concerning the municipal divisions of the Republic of Mexico in 1884, mentions still another *Tezontepec* in the district of *Pachuca*. Of course it is impossible to state with certainty which *Tezontepec* may be meant here.

In the other divisions (plate *x*) there is a man on the left and a woman on the right, except the two uppermost divisions, in which there is only a woman. The woman is always recognized by the manner of wearing the hair, which is marked by a bunch on the neck and two braids standing erect above the forehead, like horns. The names of the persons are written over them, and behind some of the heads a name hieroglyph is given. Several red dots are painted between the man and the woman in each division, varying from 4 to 8 in number. They are usually arranged in two rows, and where the number is uneven the row containing the smaller number of dots is placed uppermost. Here again the writer seems to have proceeded from below upward. The whole was probably a sort of parish register of the village of *Tezontepec*, in which the



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man and wife in every household were given, with their names and the number of their children. This is confirmed by the fact that in the two topmost divisions, where only a woman and a number of red dots are entered, after the woman's name is the remark "yc", which is the abbreviation for yenciuatl, "widow".

In the lowest division, over the man's head is written the name *lorenzo te s. fo*, that is, Lorenzo de San Francisco—for in the Mexican language there is no *r* nor *d*—and behind it is a hieroglyph which is partially destroyed and somewhat hidden by a fold in the paper, but is still clearly to be recognized as the drawing of a gridiron (see *c*, figure 43), the hieroglyph for the name Laurentius. The woman opposite him is named Ana, and the number of red dots is eight.

In the second division (plate x) from below the name Antonio is written above the man's head. Behind it was a hieroglyph, but unfortunately it is now wholly obliterated. The woman opposite him is called Catharina, and the number of red dots is eight.

In the third division from below the head, the name, and the hieroglyph of the man have been entirely destroyed by the fraying and tearing of the paper. The woman's name is Ana, and the number of red dots is eight.

In the fourth division the name over the man's head has also been destroyed, and the hieroglyph was hidden by a fold in the paper. I reproduce in *d*, figure 43, as much of it as I could see. The number of red dots is eight.

In the fifth division (plate x) from below I think I can read, above the man's head, *matheo te s. sebastian*. The hieroglyph is an arm painted yellowish brown, and in the hand is a round object painted light blueish green. I think that this is meant for the hieroglyph designating *matheo*, for *ma-itl* is the Mexican for "the arm", "the hand". The name of the woman opposite is not clear to me. The number of reddish dots is six.

In the sixth division, as I have already stated, are the name and hieroglyph of the village Tezontepec.

In the seventh division, above the man's head, only *clemente* can still be read. I can not interpret the hieroglyph. The woman's name is missing. Six (or eight) red dots are given.

In the eighth division, from below, in the note over the man's head, I can recognize distinctly only the second word. It is *osola*. The hieroglyph behind it seems to be intended for a bird's head with a tall crest of feathers. This may refer to the name; for *col-in* means the quail. Over the woman's head is a very much faded explanatory note, of which I can make out nothing but *ana d—Rey—tz*. The number of red dots is four.

Before each of the windows in the two uppermost divisions there

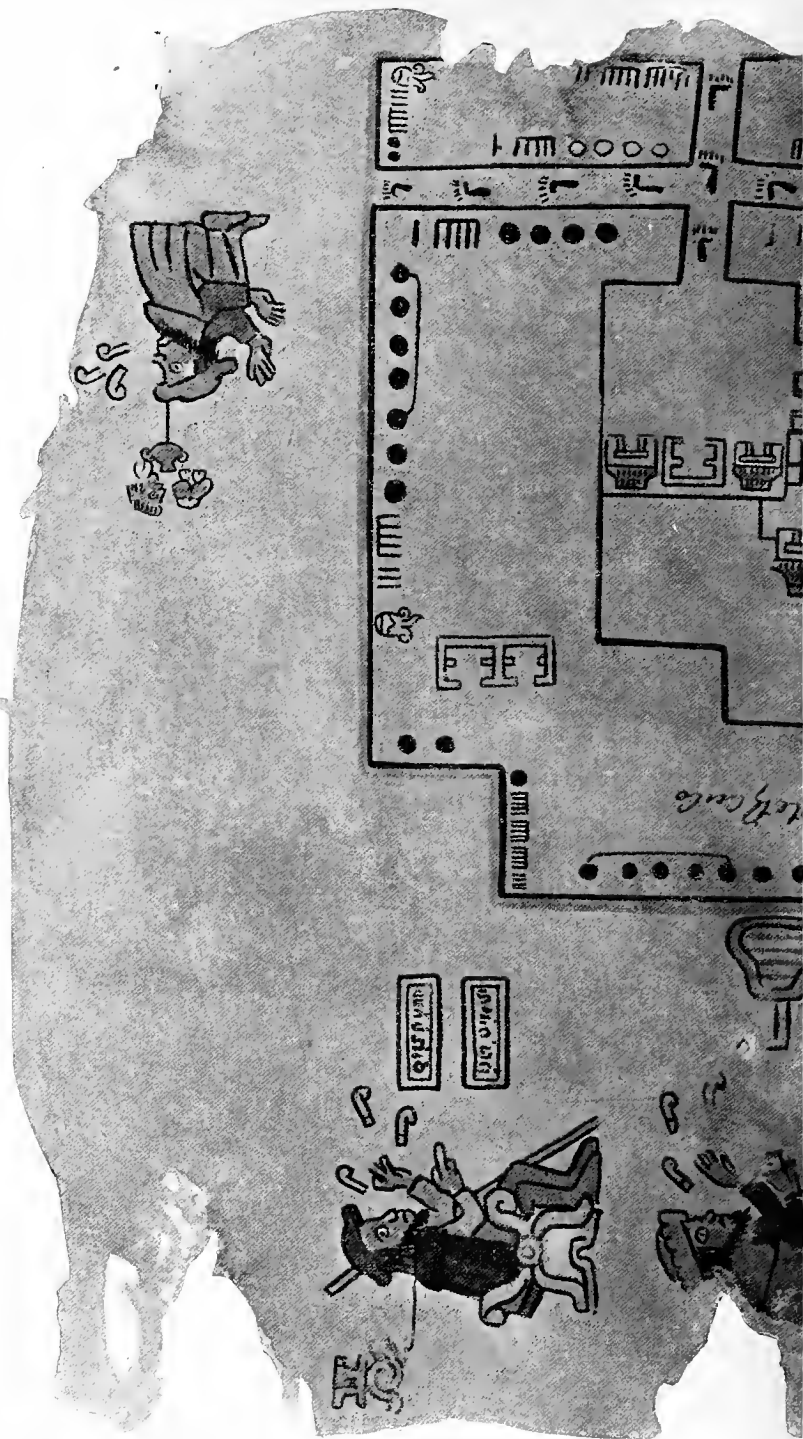
are five red dots. The lower one is named Juana, the upper one Maria. Behind the upper one is a design which looks like the monogram M A when cut in wood, and probably stands for the name Maria. Elsewhere—for instance, in the Duke of Osuna's *Pintura*—the name Maria is represented by a crown; for Maria is the queen of heaven. Behind Juana's head is a hieroglyph which represents an eye in an angle pointing upward, and below it three drops of water. This may be the hieroglyph for *icno*, "orphaned", "widowed". In the lists of names of persons in the *Manuscript Mexicain* number 3 of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* this idea is always expressed by tears (see *c*, *Iconotlācatl*; *f*, *icno-ix*).

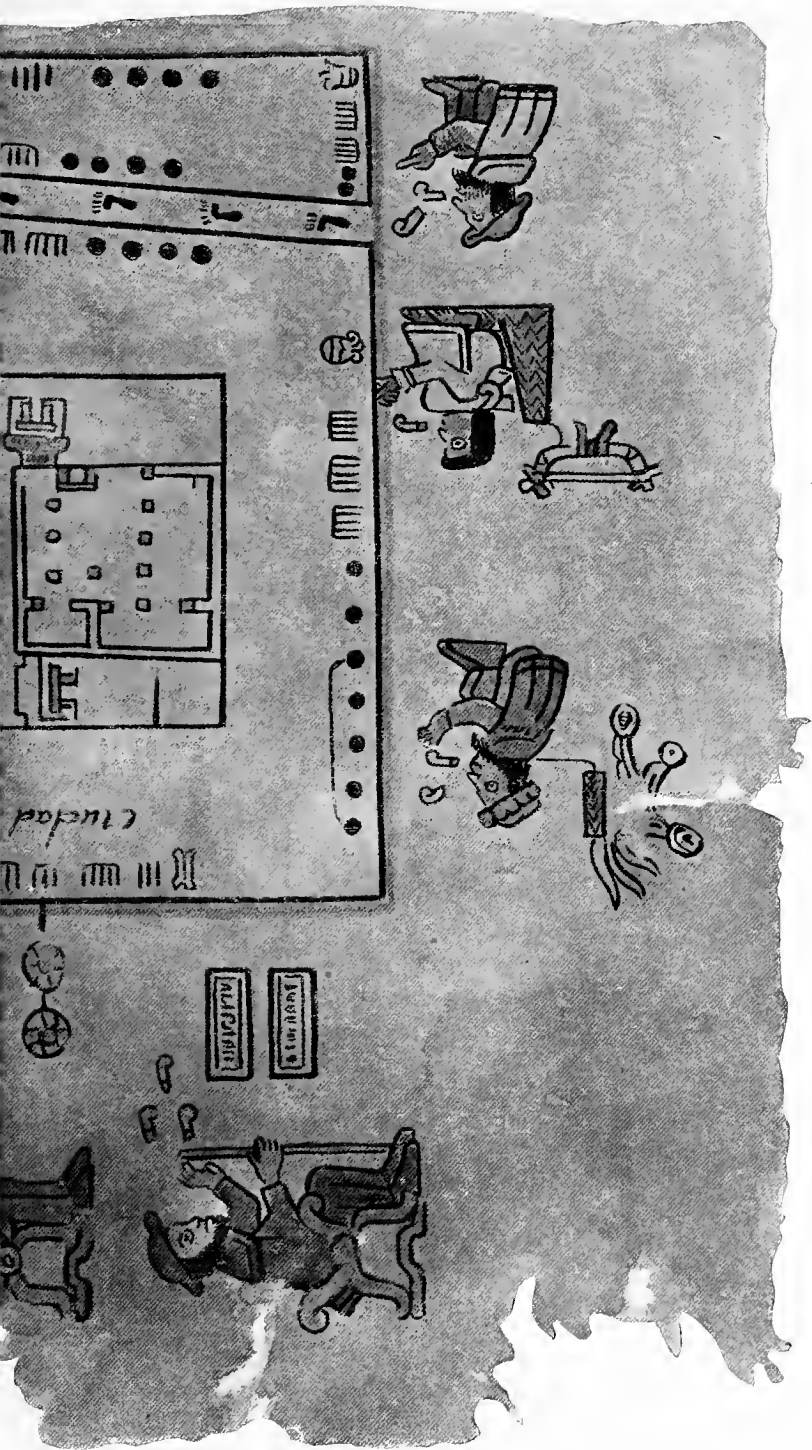
This document, too, in my opinion, belonged to the Boturini collection. In the catalogue of Boturini's *Museo Indiano*, under number 10, section 21, are mentioned *siete pedazos de mapas en papel Indiano, de los pueblos Tezàrco, Tlacoàpan, Coyotèpec y Tezontèpec* ("seven pieces of maps on Indian paper, of the villages of Tezàrco, Tlacoàpan, Coyotèpec, and Tezontèpec"). One of these seven fragments, therefore, was designated by the name of a village, whose name and hieroglyph were found on our fragment V (plate x). Since the majority of the fragments of our collection belonged, as we shall see, to the Boturini collection, it is probable that this is not an accidental coincidence.

FRAGMENT VI

This is a piece of agave paper of the size of a quarto sheet (dimensions of fragment, 20 by 21 cm.), and is covered on one side with figures and drawings (plate xi). This is the document reproduced and described by A. von Humboldt in his *Vues des Cordillères et Monuments des Peuples indigènes de l'Amérique*, under the title "*Pièce de procès en écriture hiéroglyphique (legal document in hieroglyphic writing)*."

In the middle of the fragment is a ground plan of buildings. To the left of it are written the words *ciudad de Tezcuco* ("city of Tezcuco"). It is therefore clear that this is the ground plan of the capital of that name situated opposite Mexico on the other shore of the lake. In the middle of the right side a path leads into, or, perhaps more correctly, from the heart of the city, as the position of the footprints shows. At right angles to the first path and parallel to the right side, near the edge, there is a path which, as it seems, separates two smaller quarters from the main body of the town. In the center of the main part there is a large group of buildings, which is doubtless meant to represent the palace. Most conspicuous is a square room, which is entered by a door on the right. Door posts and rafters, which were usually of wood, are designated by their red color. Rows of





MEXICAN PAINTING—HUMBOLDT FRAGMENT VI

pillars similarly painted, therefore probably of the same material, traverse the room. This corresponds exactly to what Juan Bautista de Pomar tell us of Nezahualcoyotl's palace at Tezcucó. He says that the buildings stood on raised terraces. The principal room was a hall over 20 ells in length and breadth. In the interior were many wooden pillars standing at intervals on stone bases, the pillars in their turn supporting the beams and joists: *Son sobre terraplenos de un estado, lo que menos de cinco, ú seis el que mas. Los principales aposentos que tenian eran unas salas de veinte brazas y mas de largo, y otras tantas en ancho, porque eran cuadrados, y en medio dellos muchos pilares de madera de trecho à trecho, sobre grandes brazas de piedra sobré las quales ponian las madres en que cargaba la demas madera* ("They stand on terraces of one height, five or six. The principal apartments were halls more than 20 ells in length and of width as great, because they were square, and in the middle were many wooden columns at intervals upon great stones, upon which pillars rested the beams of the ceilings"). Pomar's other statements in regard to the palace seem also to correspond with what we find drawn on our fragment. He says the entrance to these halls led from a courtyard, the ground of which was covered with a smooth layer of cement, and which was reached by a flight of steps. Besides these state apartments there were also a great number of special buildings for distinguished guests, for the women, and for the other numerous and various attendants of the palace, kitchens, closed courtyards, etc. *Abia en estas casas aposentos dedicados para los reyes de Tacuba donde eran aposentados, quando à esta ciudad venian. Tenian aposentos para los demás señores inferiores del rey, sin otras muchas salas en que hacian sus audiencias y juzgados, y otras de consejos de guerra, y otras de la musica y cantos ordinarios, y otras en que vivian las mugeres, con otros muchos palacios y grandes cocinas y corrales* ("There were in these houses apartments set apart for the kings of Tacuba, where they were lodged when they came to this city. There were apartments for all the other lords, inferior to the king, besides many other halls in which they gave audiences and delivered judgment, and others for councils of war, and others for music and ordinary singing, and others in which the women lived, with many other palaces and great kitchens and courtyards"). We see in fact on our fragment a staircase leading up to these edifices. We see, besides the principal building, five smaller, straw-thatched houses, and also a small square room, in which posts, but no doors, are indicated, and it might therefore be a closed courtyard (corral). A few similar courtyards, adjacent to each other, are indicated on our fragment, in addition to the main congeries of buildings, the actual palace, in the upper left-hand corner of the plan.

Around the sides of the main body of the town, as well as of the two

separate quarters, numerals have been set down: single marks, which must mean ones; groups of five marks, of which, however, there are never more than three sets; and black circles, which must necessarily mean twenties, and therefore stand here in the place of the little flag which is generally the sign employed for the numeral 20. Where more than five black circles occur five of them are connected by a line, the number 100 being thus emphasized. Besides these numerals, wherever space allows there is the drawing of the heart, yollotl, that is literally, yol-yo-tl, "having life", so familiar in Mexican paintings. Hence, it is clear that living beings, the human souls actually present in the city, are being counted here. If we sum up, beginning on the right side at the bottom, we have the following numbers for the main body of the town: 96, 86, 148, 79, 158, 155, or a total of 722 persons. In the upper of the two separate quarters of the town the number is incomplete on the right side, the twenties being destroyed. On the other two sides, beginning below on the left, we have the figures 86 and 48; total, 134 persons. For the lower of the two separate quarters, on the right, left, and lower sides we have 84, 95, and 50; total, 229 persons. If we increase the second sum to the amount of the third by way of supplementing it with the missing numbers, the total would amount to slightly less than 1,200. Are we to suppose that this was the amount of the entire population of Tezcucoc? I think not. The population had indeed greatly diminished after the conquest. While formerly, says Ixtlilxochitl, the smallest village in the district of Tezcucoc had 1,100 heads of households or more, as is proved by the ancient doomsday books and lists of inhabitants, they now numbered scarcely 200, and some families had died out entirely. I do not think, however, that at the time to which we must attribute this page the number of inhabitants in the capital could have dwindled to 1,200. This very passage quoted from Ixtlilxochitl proves beyond a doubt that our fragment (plate XI) does not contain an enumeration of individuals, but only of heads of households (*vecinos*). Therefore, for the period in which our fragment was written, we ought to have a population of about 7,000, which is probably in accordance with the true condition of things.

I would further remark that the special arrangement of the numbers in this plan of the city probably owes its origin to the distribution of the inhabitants into quarters, or *gentes* (*barrio*, *calpulli*). Each separate tally probably corresponds to a separate *calpulli*, of which we must suppose that there were six in the main body of the town and three in each of the two detached quarters.

Around the plan of the town are seven sitting figures, six Spaniards and one Mexican. A. von Humboldt already correctly understood and has admirably characterized the general meaning of the proceeding which is thus represented. He errs only in regarding the

plan of the city in the middle of the picture, which, as we have seen, is that of the city of Tezcuco, as the ground plan of an ordinary estate and as the object in dispute. He says in *Vue des Cordillères et Monuments des peuples indigènes d'Amérique*, page 56: Le tableau qui présente la douzième Planche paraît indiquer un procès entre des naturels et des Espagnols. L'objet en litige est une métairie, dont on voit le dessin en projection orthographique. On y reconnoit le grand chemin marqué par les traces des pieds; des maisons dessinées en profil; un Indien dont le nom indique un arc; et des juges espagnols assis sur des chaises, et ayant les lois devant leurs yeux. L'Espagnol placé immédiatement au-dessus de l'Indien, s'appelle probablement Aquaverde, car l'hieroglyphe de l'eau, peint en vert, se trouve figuré derrière sa tête. Les langues sont très inégalement reparties dans ce tableau. Tout y annonce l'état d'un pays conquis; l'indigène ose à peine défendre sa cause, tandis que les étrangers à longues barbes y parlent beaucoup et à haut voix, comme descendants d'un peuple conquérant ("The picture seen in the twelfth plate seems to indicate a law suit between the natives and the Spanish. The object of the dispute is a farm, a plan of which we see. We see the high road marked out by footprints, houses drawn in profile, an Indian whose name means a bow, and the Spanish judges seated on chairs, with the laws before them. The Spaniard immediately above the Indian is probably named Aquaverde, for the hieroglyph for water, painted green, figures behind his head. The tongues are very unequally distributed in this picture. Everything declares it to be a conquered country. The native hardly ventures to plead his cause, while the long-bearded strangers talk much and in loud voices, like descendants of a conquering race").

The three figures on the left side of the page are undoubtedly three judges, in fact the president of the *audiencia* and the two *oydores*. We must thus explain the relation in which the three stand to one another, for the judge in the middle is distinguished from the other two by a richer cap. The illustration as a whole corresponds perfectly with the manner in which the *oydores* are represented in the *Pintura del Gobernador, Alcaldes y Regidores de México* (Osuna codex). The chair and the staff are their badges of office (see *g, h, i*, figure 43, the picture of Doctor Horozco, *oydor*, from page 3 [465] of the above-mentioned manuscript). The papers lying before them are probably not meant for the statute books, but for the written records of the suit. It is worthy of note that there are absolutely unintelligible characters on these papers. They represent the confused impression of writing made on one who can not read. The two men sitting beside the Mexican are his vouchers, the witnesses summoned

by him. The Spaniard on the opposite (the upper) side of the fragment, who turns his head away and answers at great length, is evidently the defendant, who denies the accusation brought against him. There were hieroglyphs behind all these persons, except the second witness. Unfortunately those behind two of the judges are destroyed.

One of the persons can be identified beyond a doubt by these hieroglyphs. This is the Mexican. Behind him is the figure of a bow (tlautilli) as his name hieroglyph. It is apparent that he occupied a high position among the natives, that he must have been of royal rank, for he is represented sitting on the tepetzcoicpalli, the straw chair with a high back. Now, we actually know, that in the middle of the sixteenth century, men by the name of Tlautil, descendants of the old Tezcucan royal family, ruled in Tezcucan. Chimalpahin mentions one, San Antonio Pimentel Tlautiltzin, whom he calls the son of King Nezahualpilli, who died in 1515—Torquemada describes him as the grandson of Nezahualpilli—who was installed as king (tlahtouani) of Tezcucan-Aculhuacan in the year 1540 by the Spaniards, and died in 1564 after reigning twenty-five years. This statement is unquestionably based on an error. In the Sahagun manuscript, which was written in the year 2 Acatl, that is, 1559, Don Antonio Tlautiltzin is mentioned as the twelfth king of Tezcucan, the seventh after Nezahualpilli, and it is stated that he reigned six years. And after that Don Hernando Pimentel is mentioned as the thirteenth king of Tezcucan, his Mexican name being Iuian, that is, "the mild", "the modest", a word which is reproduced in the name hieroglyph accompanying the picture of this king by two bare feet, perhaps expressing "chi va piano, va sano". The latter at the time that this was written (in the year 2 Acatl, or A. D. 1559) must already have reigned fifteen years, and therefore have come to the throne in 1545. The six years during which Don Antonio Pimentel Tlautiltzin was said to have reigned must have been the years 1540-1545. Chimalpahin has evidently merged the periods of rule of these two men into one.

Of Don Antonio Pimentel Tlautiltzin we know from Torquemada, who mentions him in various places, that he was a quiet, sensible man, who devoted himself with special interest to collecting and writing down the ancient traditions of his family and his race. Torquemada possessed a "Memorial" written by him, in which he gives an account^a of ancient things, en estilo de historia, al modo que usamos nosotros ("in historic style, in the manner which we use"). Juan Bautista de Pomar says of him, that he cultivated mulberry trees and bred silkworms, that in his (Pomar's) time, that is, in the year 1582, there were still mulberry trees in the vicinity of Tezcucan, y en

^a Monarquía Indiana, v. 16, chap. 19.

tiempo antiguo la cogia (la seda) Don Antonio Tlauhiltzin cacique y gobernador que fué de esta ciudad, hijo de Nezahualpiltzintli ("and in ancient times Don Antonio Tlauhiltzin, who was cacique and governor of that city, son of Nezahualpiltzintli, gathered it (the silk)").

It is not so easy to determine the other persons on our fragment. Since Tlauhiltzin only reigned until the year 1545, the event to which our fragment refers must have occurred before that date. At that time the viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza, was still reigning—from the year 1534. The bishop of Santo Domingo, Don Sebastian Ramirez de Fuenleal, was president of the audiencia until 1535. His oydores were the licenciados Juan de Salmeron, Alonzo Maldonado, Zeynos (or Zaynos, as it is also written), afterwards president of the audiencia, and Quiroga.^a The names of Spaniards were frequently reproduced by the Mexicans in hieroglyphs, which are often perfectly intelligible, but often too very hard to understand and, without doubt, frequently do not represent the name itself, but a nickname by which the person in question was known among the Indians. It is well known that Pedro de Alvarado went by the name Tonatiuh, "sun", among the Indians. He is therefore hieroglyphically designated by a picture of the sun. The viceroy Antonio de Mendoza is designated in Codex Telleriano-Remensis by a spear, *k*, figure 43; the third viceroy, Luis de Velasco, in the Pintura del Gobernador, Alcaldes y Regidores de México (Osuna codex), by *l*, which is composed of the tongue of eloquence, an eye, and, above it, another object, difficult to explain. The name Gallego is expressed in the same manuscript by *m*, and that of Doctor Vasco de Poga by *n*. Both are easily understood. In *m* we have the figures of a house (cal-li) and of beans (e-tl), or Cal-e; and *n* is explained by the fact that poc-tli in Mexican means "smoke". The hieroglyph for Doctor Zorita, *r*, the head of a quail, is also perfectly obvious, because col-in is the Mexican word for quail. But *o* for Doctor Villanueva, and *p* for Doctor Villalobos still puzzle me; so does *q* for Doctor Bravo. The hieroglyph, *s*, for Doctor Zeynos seems to represent the prickly point of a leaf, and *t*, the hieroglyph for the fiscal Maldonado, is the picture of a pair of wooden tongs and a red (red-hot?) object which is held in their grasp. Lastly, the hieroglyph for Doctor Horozco, *h*, is most strikingly like that of San Francisco, *i*.

Most of the hieroglyphs which I have mentioned here belong to persons of a later time than that to which our fragment VI (plate XI) belongs. Unfortunately, but few hieroglyphs of Spanish names of this earlier period are positively known to us, and they are not to be interpreted at haphazard, as can readily be seen from the examples just given.

^a Motolinia, v. 3, chap. 3.

It still remains to discuss the pictures on our page (plate x1), which are on the left of the plan of the city, directly in front of the presiding magistrate. Two of them, the two circles, painted bluish green in the original and filled in with irregular squares, are perfectly clear. They represent turquoise mosaic and have the phonetic value of Xiutl, that is, "year" (see page 160). We must conclude that the occurrence which is treated of here took place two years before, or else that the trial lasted two years. The other object is not so easily interpreted. It looks like a bag or a bottle-shaped vessel. A stick or pipe is apparently joined to it above, and a fine thread seems also to be fastened to it. The inside is entirely filled with wavy red lines. Although various suggestions occur to me, I do not venture to express a definite opinion in regard to the meaning of this object.

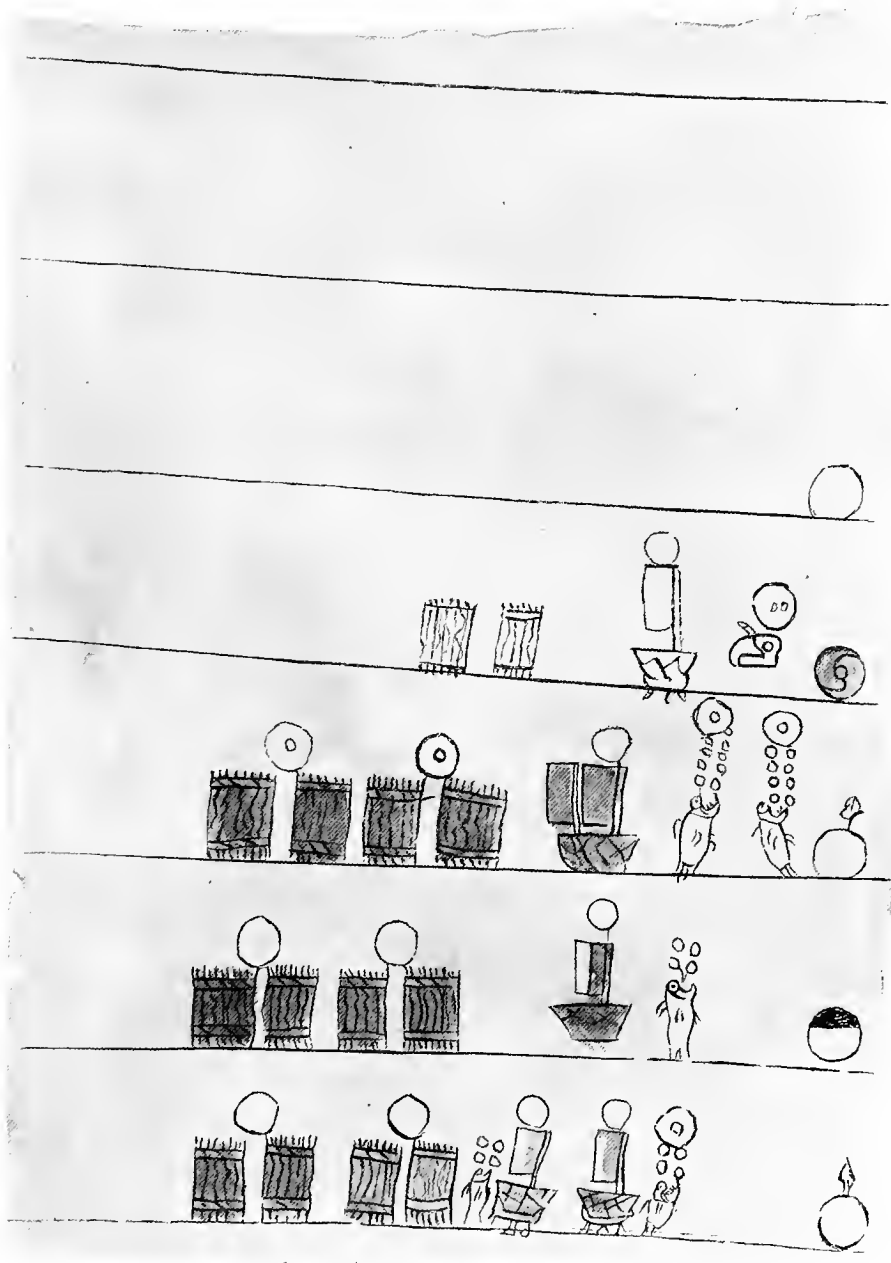
Fragment VI (plate x1) seems to have belonged to Boturini's collection and to be described by him in his *Museo Indiano*, number 7, section 3. He says there:^a *Otro mapa en una quartilla de papel Indiano, donde se vé pintada la ciudad de Tetzcoco, con unas cifras, que especifican su extension en lo antiguo* ("Another map of a quarter sheet of Indian paper, where we see the city of Tezcuco, painted with figures, which specify its size in old times"). Our page, too, is a map in quarto (*un mapa en una quartilla de papel Indiano*), and has a picture of the city of Tetzcoco, and numerals are inscribed upon it, as we have seen, only they do not indicate the size of the city, as Boturini here supposes, but the number of its inhabitants.

FRAGMENT VII

This (plate x11) is a strip of agave paper, 25 cm. long and about 18 cm. wide, with four rows of writing beginning below at the right, a fifth row being only indicated.

On the right side of the divisions are circles. One of them, that in the fourth row from the bottom is painted red and contains a verticillate design, a kind of two-armed swastika. This undoubtedly means a Sunday. In accordance with this the circles at the right end of the lower divisions must likewise mean days, and since the progression is upward we should have Thursday in the lowest division, Friday in the second, and Saturday in the third from the bottom. In accordance with this, Friday would be characterized by the circle, the upper half of which is painted black. This would be comprehensible. It was the day of Christ's crucifixion and a fast day commanded by the church. Thursday and Saturday would be alike designated, to wit, by a circle with a kind of arrow on it. I think that this was only a hieroglyph for a working or week day.

^a Place cited, p. 5.



MEXICAN PAINTING—HUMBOLDT FRAGMENT VII

Inside in the lowest row, between fishes, were baskets woven of straw (painted yellow), apparently of pliable material, each of which in this lowest row rests on a flat disk having three feet. These are apparently the little baskets in which hot tortillas were brought. Last, on the left, follow bundles, apparently meant to represent

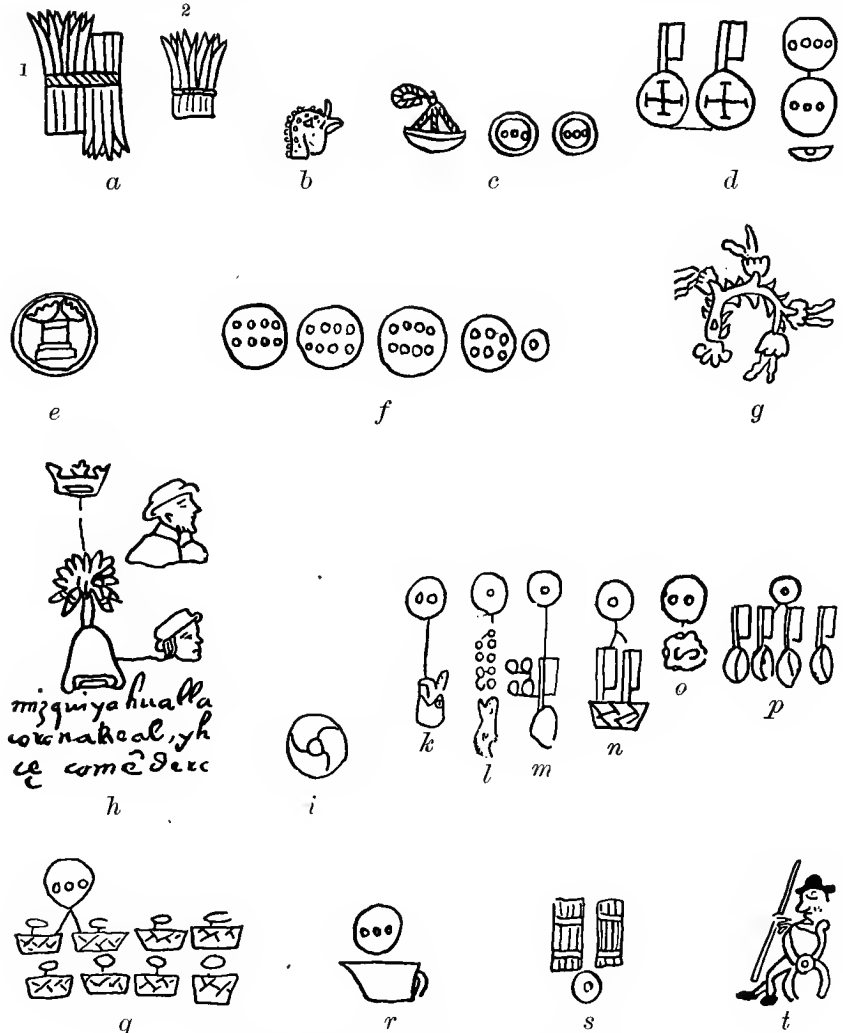


FIG. 44. Mexican symbols of various objects.

zacatl, "green cornstalks", which have been used in preference for horse fodder from the time of the conquest to the present day (see *a*, 1 and 2, figure 44, the former taken from the Goupil-Boban atlas, plate 27, the latter from the Pintura del Gobernador, Alcaldes y Regidores de México, and both described in the text as Zacatl).

In the topmost row (on Sunday) there is a turkey, the Sunday roast, instead of the fishes. For the better understanding of the somewhat crude drawing I have reproduced in *b*, figure 44, the rather more carefully drawn head from the Goupil-Boban atlas, plate 27, which is there expressly mentioned in the text as "gallina de la tierra".

Above these objects, which represent food for man and beast, are various figures: Small flags which designate the numeral 20 and groups of small circles, each of which means 1, and also larger circles, which are either empty or contain one or two small circles (plate XII).

These large circles, which in the more carefully drawn manuscripts are always painted blue, signify money, silver coin, and in respect to this there is indeed an unvarying style of designation observable. The old Spanish coin was the peso, which was divisible into 8 reals, known in Mexican as tomin. Half a real was a medio, and half of that a quartillo. The Indians divided the latter once more. For this smallest fractional coin there is no Spanish name, only the Mexican tlaco, "half". The peso was sometimes represented in Mexican paintings by the scale pan of a balance, answering to its name, "weight", (*c*, figure 44), but usually by a blue circle with a cross on it, *d*, apparently from the stamp which at that time was impressed upon silver money. It is very rarely that any other stamp occurs (see, for instance, *e*, from the Osuna codex, pages 30 [492] and 31 [493]). Reals, or tomines, were designated by a blue circle, containing as many small circles as there were reals to be represented. Usually not more than four small circles were inscribed within one circle, that is, 4 reals, equal to half a peso. Only, when the pesos were not specially mentioned, but, as often happened, and in spite of the new dollar and centavo system still often happens, the sum was reckoned in reals, then we find within the blue circle as many as eight small circles (see *f*). The medio, on the contrary, was designated by a real cut in halves (see *d*). Thus *c* (Osuna codex) is explained in the text as 1 peso ypan 6 tomines, 1 peso and 6 reals; and *d*, taken from the same manuscript, as ompohualli pesos ypan 7 tomines ypan medio, that is, twice 20 pesos, 7 reals, and 1 medio.

In our fragment VII (plate XII) the price of the turkey (quaxolotl, guajolote) in the top row has the highest number of figures; for it is marked 2 reals. All the rest are marked 1 real. For this reason the large circles seem to be used here very often alone, without the small inner circles. According to the prices noted here, 2 bundles or loads of zacate, 20 tortillas, and 8 fishes were sold, respectively, for .1 real. The fishes can not, therefore, have been of any great size.

Since, therefore, we find days set down on our fragment VII, and within the days provisions and fodder with their prices, it is clear that this fragment must be a bill. This is proved by the writing which I

had the pleasure of discovering on the reverse of the paper after having separated the leaf from its backing. These words are written there:

Resebí yó micuel mayordomo de la comunidad deste pueblo de misquiagualla del señor manuel de olvera dos pesos q. monto en comida desta pintura en quatro de fevrero de mill y q^a. y setenta y un años.

MIGUEL DE SANC JU^o.

ante mi

Juan de p — . . .

("I, Miguel, major-domo of the community of this village of Mizquiyaullan, received from Señor Manuel de Olvera 2 pesos, the price of the provisions, which are here depicted, on February 4, 1571.

MIGUEL DE S. JUAN.

Before me,

Juan de p —.")

(I can not wholly decipher this signature.)

The village of Mizquiyaullan lies in the district of Actopan of the state of Hidalgo. The name means "where the mesquite trees (*algaroba*, *Prosopis juliflora*) stand in a circle". It is therefore represented hieroglyphically by a mesquite tree bent in the shape of the bow (see *g*, figure 44), but occasionally merely by a mesquite tree, or a mountain with a mesquite tree upon it, *h*. The place was in the Otomi territory and was early subject to the Mexican kings. On the tribute list it is in the group Axocopan between the towns of Tezcatepec and Itzmiquilpan. In the *Pintura del Gobernador, Alcaldes y Regidores de México* (Osuna codex), it is mentioned with these and other places in the same region, but Mizquiyaullan was subject to double authority, for it was a domain of the crown and had an *encomendro* besides (see *h*, taken from the manuscript just named, where this double relation is expressed by the crown over the hieroglyph and the head of a Spaniard beside it). The major-domo who signed the receipt quoted above was no doubt responsible to the crown.

As for the persons themselves, I can not decipher the name of the official in whose presence the act was executed. In *a* and *b*, figure 47, I have reproduced the signatures of the witness and the receipting major-domo from tracings which I made. We shall later meet again with the Manuel de Olvera mentioned in the text. The major-domo was undoubtedly an Indian. Family names like this, borrowed from a saint (or a diocese?), are often encountered in the lists of names of persons.

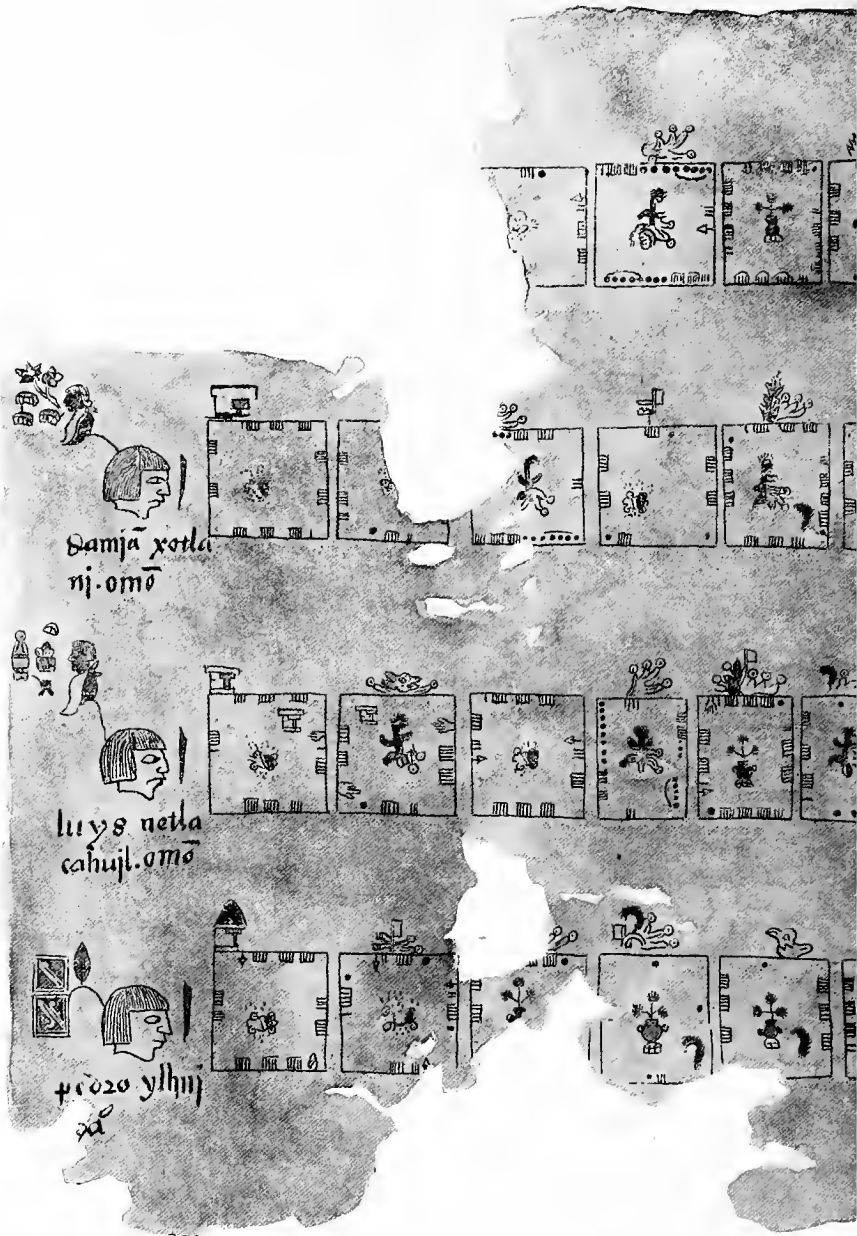
I would draw attention to the fact that the sum of 2 pesos, mentioned in the receipt, is the actual amount obtained if we add the

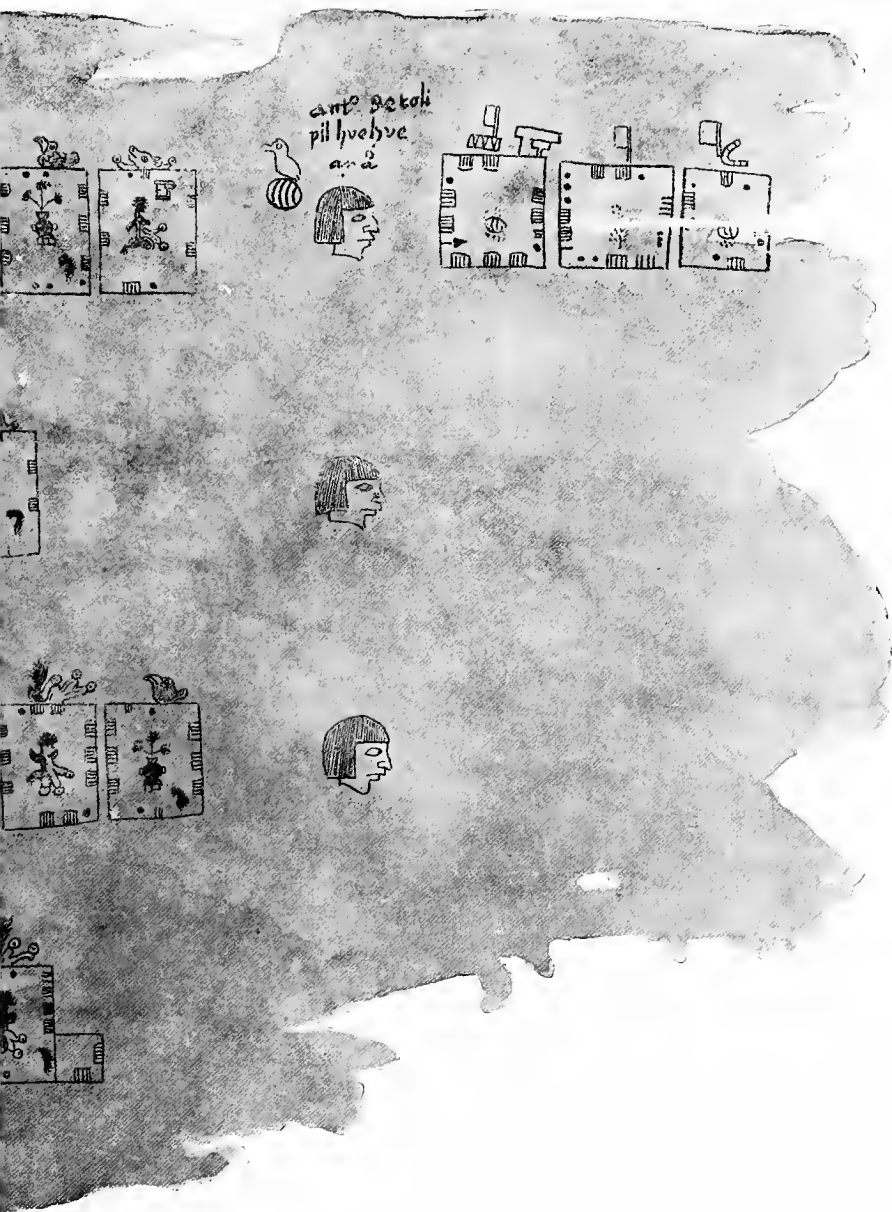
reals marked on fragment VII (plate XII). In the lowest row there are 5, in the second 3, in the third 5, and in the fourth again 3; in all, 16 reals or 2 pesos.

I shall show later that another page of our collection, fragment VIII (plate XIII) can be proved to have come from the same village. This latter fragment, as I shall show later on, is most closely related to one of the manuscripts which passed from the collection of the Hon Joel R. Poinsett, former minister to Mexico from the United States, into the possession of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, and was published in the Transactions of that society (new series, volume 12, 1892, article 4). It is interesting to note that our fragment VII (plate XII) should also find its exact parallel in a piece in that collection. The latter is designated by the editors as Tribute Roll (Calendar 2). Here, too, the page is divided by horizontal lines into a series of consecutive divisions. On the right is a day, invariably designated by a disk, Sunday by a red disk with a three-armed verticillate design (*i*, figure 44). Then follow various articles of food, with their prices; but the bill of fare is somewhat enlarged. Besides turkey, painted red (*k*, same figure), fish (*l*), a little basket of tortillas (*n*), and bundles of zacate (*s*), we have in *p* still another cheap article of food, of which eighty are marked at 1 real, but to which I can not at present give a name; in *q* we apparently have baskets of tamales (a kind of dumpling with a filling, which was steamed in a wrapper of corn husks), eight of which were sold for 3 reals; in *m*, some articles of food painted red, possibly chile con carne, four of which cost 1 real; in *r*, a fanega of Indian corn for 3 reals (see *p* and *q*, figure 46); and in *o*, an article of diet with which I am unacquainted, which was sold for 2 réals. Finally, in two squares there are figures of Spaniards (*t*, figure 44). It seems highly probable that this page belongs to the same date and same region as our fragment VII (plate XII). It is very probable that our fragment VII (plate XII) likewise once belonged to the Boturini collection. The catalogue of Boturini's Museo Indiano mentions under number 1, section 21: Tres mapas en papel Indiano como fajas. Tratan de los tributos que pagaba el pueblo de Mizquihuállan, y en el se ven las cifras numéricas de cada cosa que entregaban los vecinos ("Three maps on Indian paper like strips of ribbon. They treat of the tribute paid by the village of Mizquihuállan, and in them are the numerical figures of everything which householders furnished").

FRAGMENT VIII

This is a strip of agave paper, 33 cm. long, 22 cm. wide, much injured at the edges and in the middle by folding, and imperfect at the upper left corner (plate XIII). On the upper side of the fragment





ant' setoli
pil hvehye
an a

there are drawings, done with a fine pen, most of which are touched up with colors. On the left side are heads of men. Behind each is a hieroglyph, which gives the name of the man in question, and in front of each is the wooden implement used for field work, known as *uictli*, or *couauacatl* (see *t* and *u*, figure 37). These persons are thus marked as husbandmen. Before each person is a row of fields with quadrangular boundaries, on the sides of which are numbers similar to those which we encountered on fragment VI (plate XI). The numbers on the opposite sides of the fields, as far as can be determined, are alike, except in some minute particulars. This shows that these were meant for pieces of arable land with quadrangular boundaries. There are hieroglyphs on the upper boundary and on the surface of the fields which are repeated in the different rows. In some of the fields, in the lower right-hand corner, there is also a representation of grass (*zacatl*), painted yellow (see *a*, figure 36), and on the last field of the first row, in the upper right-hand corner, is the picture of a house (*calli*), and also in the first and second field in the third row. Finally, the name of the respective person is written with a coarse pen beside each head. From the character of the drawing and the structure of the hieroglyphs this fragment (plate XIII) resembles most closely the so-called Vergara codex. That is a manuscript mentioned by Boturini in his *Museo Indiano*, now in the Aubin-Goupil collection, consisting (originally) of 56 pages, which gives the statistics of the villages of Calcantlaxiuhcan, Topotitlan, Patlachihcan, Teocaltitlan, and Texcalticpac. The heads of families and their descendants are set down first, then lists of the persons in each village (*tlatlacuilolli*), the lands claimed by individuals (*milcocolli*), and of what was allotted to individuals at the time of the adjustment (*tlaueimantli*). On the first (originally the second) page the remark "1539, marques del valle virey" has been added evidently later, by another hand. But this note has probably as little value as those added on pages 21 and 22, where a certain Don Augustin de Rosas asserts his claim to the estates of Tzilaquauhtepoztlanallan. At the end stands the name Pedro Vasquez de Vergara, possibly the name of some one who had the manuscript in his possession. The manuscript has usually been cited under his name since Aubin's time.

On those pages of that manuscript which treat of the distribution of lands the heads of persons, with their names and hieroglyphs, are depicted in exactly the same way as on our fragment VIII (plate XIII), and beside them, in rows, are the fields, those claimed by them or those which were assigned to them (Goupil-Boban atlas, plate 39. See *a*, *b*, and *c*, figure 45, which are taken therefrom). In the Vergara codex the numbers which give the dimensions are placed on only one of the long, vertical, and on one of the short, horizontal, sides of the fields, and there are hieroglyphs only in the middle of the fields, but

not, as on our fragment VIII (plate XIII), on the upper boundary as well.

There is still another document on the left side of which persons are depicted and, opposite them, the fields belonging to them, in the same way as in our fragment. This is page 34 of the Goupil-Boban atlas. Here, too, as in the Vergara codex, the dimensional figures are on only two sides of the square. But, as in our fragment (plate XIII), hieroglyphs are drawn on the upper boundary of the fields, or beside it, and there are additional designations which make it evident that these hieroglyphs represent the name of the field or piece of arable land.

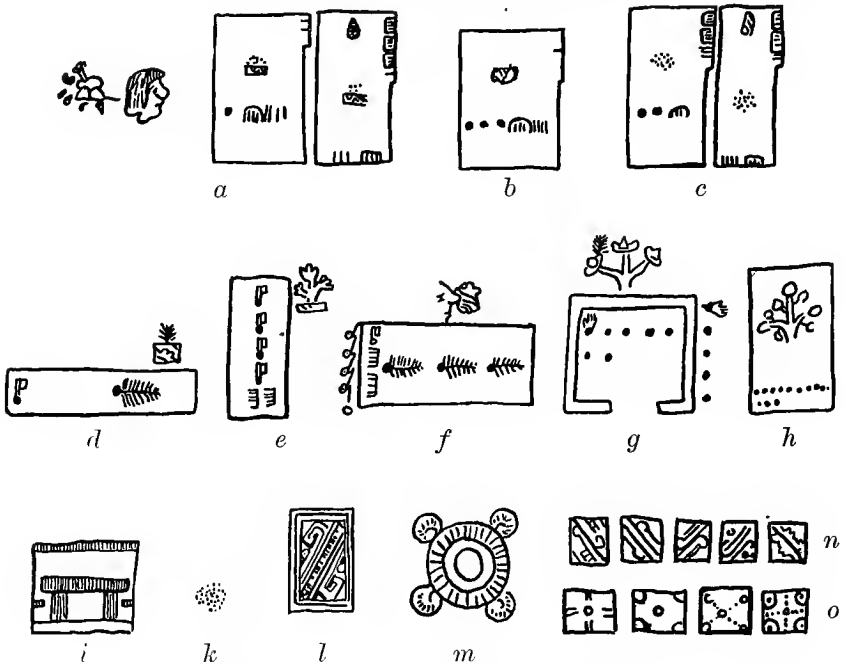


FIG. 45. Mexican glyphs denoting various objects.

Moreover, the word chinamitl, "inclosed field", or milli, "arable land", is often quite superfluously written beside them (see *d*, *e*, *f*, figure 45).

Comparison with these manuscripts, I think, leaves no room for doubt as to the general meaning of our fragment VIII (plate XIII). I will now resume the discussion of its separate features.

The dimensional numbers, which are written on four sides of the fields, are, as I have already said, the same on the two opposite sides. Their construction and characteristic features are exactly the same as those which we have already seen in the plan of the city of Tezcucuo on fragment VI (plate XI) of our collection. There, as here,

twenties are denoted by black dots, ones by lines; groups of five ones are connected by a line; and where there are more than five twenties the first five are also connected by a line to form the number 100. We have the same system of notation in the Vergara codex, *a* to *c*, and on page 34 of the Goupil-Boban atlas, *d* to *f*, except that here the twenties are usually denoted by a black dot and a little flag, the four hundreds by a black dot and a sign resembling a pinnated leaf, which is the symbol for *tzontli*, "four hundred" (literally, "hair"). But on this page, too, twenties are denoted simply by black dots, *g* and *h*. On fragment VI of our collection the souls were counted. Therefore we saw, preceding the numbers, the picture of a heart (*yollotli*), expressive of the conception "life" (*yōl*) or "soul". On fragment VIII (plate XIII) we should expect to find, preceding the figures, the picture of some unit of measure. And this is actually the case. We find, preceding the numbers, the picture of a hand. This is in the first, second, and fifth fields of the third row. But in other fields, preceding the numbers, we find a picture resembling an arrowhead. This occurs in the fourth field of the upper row (the front of which is incomplete), in the last field in the second row, in the fifth field in the third row, and in the first and second fields of the fourth row. I have interpreted this picture, from its appearance, to be an arrowhead. That it is actually intended for one is, in my opinion, fully proved by the fact that in the first field of the fourth row the arrowhead, which we see on the upper side, is replaced on the lower side by the hieroglyph *tecpatl*, "flint", that is, by the material from which arrowheads were made.

We also find the hand as a unit of length on page 34 of the Goupil-Boban atlas, where the dimensions of the estate or village of *Tzompantitlan* are given (see *g*, figure 45).^a The hand as a unit of measure is readily understood. For *ma-itl* means not only the hand, but also the arm, the forearm, including the hand. The use of the hand, therefore, might denote either an arm's length or an ell. In fact, Molina's vocabulary gives *cem-matl* (literally defines, "an arm") by "*una braça para medir*", that is, an ell. I have not found the arrow elsewhere as a unit of length. But that it was actually used as such is again proved by Molina's vocabulary, where we find *cem-mitl*, "an arrow", translated by "*medida desde el un codo hasta la otra mano*", that is, the measure from one elbow to the tip of the other hand, a somewhat longer measure, therefore, than the former, equal to about 2 ells. I think it possible, however, that the two symbols, the hand and the arrow, both refer to one and the same customary unit employed to measure distance.

^a Let me draw attention, in passing, to the interesting form which this hieroglyph has here. The element *tzompan* is usually expressed by the wooden framework *tzompantli*, upon which the heads of the sacrificed victims were exhibited. But here it is expressed by the tree *tzompanquauitl* (*Erythrina corallodendron*).

As for the hieroglyphs, those on the upper side of the fields undoubtedly stand for the names of the boundaries of the land. They are repeated in the separate rows of fields belonging to one owner, because they do not denote the individual field, but the domain within which it lies. In exactly the same way, on page 34 of the Goupil-Boban atlas, the same names of domains recur above and beside the fields which are set down in rows after the various owners. In our fragment eight different domains seem to be given.

The first one is the same in all the rows (plate XIII) and is designated by the picture of a house above the field. The house in the fourth row is drawn with a high, pointed, straw roof (painted yellow), that is, like the *xacalli*, which we saw in fragment II (plate VII). The others are apparently meant to represent the adobe houses with flat roofs of beams, known as *tlapehcalli* (see *í*, figure 45, taken from page 34 of the Goupil-Boban atlas). The layer of beams forming the roof is marked here by red paint, like doorposts and the frames of doors, which were always made of wood^a and were therefore always painted red or brown.

The second field in the third row (which is the most perfect) has a hieroglyph at the top which represents the head of a coyote between two streams of water. This domain may, therefore, have been called *Coyoapan*. The name of this domain is set down over the last field in the first row.

The third field in the third row has no hieroglyph at the top. Perhaps the same one should be here which is over the fourth field in the second row and over the second field in the fourth row, and also over the third field in the row to the right of the fragment (plate XIII). It consists of a flag and two rows of teeth. The name of the domain may have been *Pantlan* or *Pancamac*. Over the second field in the fourth row there is a stream of water in addition to the flag.

The hieroglyph over the fourth field in the third row is somewhat effaced; but I think that it is meant for the same hieroglyph that is over the fourth field in the first row, and over the third field in the second row, which consists of the picture of a hand and a stream of water. The same hieroglyph probably occurred also over the third field in the fourth row. In its place there is a hole in the page, and the edge of the paper is somewhat turned down; but the stream of water belonging to this fourth hieroglyph is still plainly discernible under the turned-down edge.

The fifth field in the third row has above it a hieroglyph, which occurs nowhere else in what is preserved of the other rows. It consists of a fruit tree, a small flag, and a stream of water.

The hieroglyph over the sixth field in the third row consists of the symbol *zaca-tl*, "grass" (painted yellow), and a stream of water.

^a See J. Bautista Pomar, *Relacion de Tetzaco*, manuscript.

It is evidently the same hieroglyph as that over the fourth field in the fourth row, which, in addition to the grass and water, has also a set of teeth (*tlan-tli*, "tooth") and a small flag (*pan-tli*).

The seventh hieroglyph occurs in all four rows. It is over the sixth field in the first, the fifth field in the second, the seventh field in the third, and the sixth field in the fourth row. It consists of a green bush and a stream of water.

The eighth hieroglyph likewise occurs in all of the four rows: in the seventh field of the first, the sixth field of the second, the eighth of the third, and the fifth field of the fourth row. It is the picture of a bird.

Another separate domain may possibly be designated over the second field of the row on the unfinished right side. A small flag is recognizable. Whatever else may have been there is now obliterated. We see, then, that the hieroglyphs over the fields, which, it seems tolerably certain, represent the names of the domains, exhibit a considerable variety. We have been able to count eight or nine of them. Of the hieroglyphs on the surface of the fields, only three kinds can be distinguished, which, as will appear immediately, must have been intended to express various qualities of soil.

The first presents the hieroglyph *te-tl*, "stone", and a series of fine dots proceeding from it, undoubtedly indicating sand (*xalli*). (See *k*, figure 45, *xalpan milli*, that is, the arable field, *xalpan*, "in the sand"; *Goupil-Boban atlas*, page 34.) This hieroglyph, then, would denote stony, sandy soil, which the Mexicans called *tetlalli xallalli*.

The second hieroglyph which we see, for instance, in the second field of the third row, shows the picture of a maize plant (*toctli*), with the tassel (painted yellow) at the top and the ear (painted red) having long drooping bunches of silk lower down at the left of the stalk. Beside it, on the right, is a stream of water (*a-tl*) and below it a row of teeth (*tlan-tli*). These three elements together give the word *atoc-tlan*, that is, "rich in *a-toctli* (fertile vegetable mold)." Compare *Sahagun*, volume 2, chapter 12, section 3: *A la tierra fertil para sembrar, y donde se hace mucho lo que se siembra en ella, llaman a-toctli, que quiere decir, tierra que el agua ha traído: es blanca, suelta, hueca y suave; es tierra donde se hace mucho maíz ó trigo* ("earth fertile to sow seed in, and where that which is sowed increases greatly, they call *a-toctli*, which is to say, earth which the water has brought: it is light, loose, rich, and smooth; it is earth which produces much corn or wheat"). It is, however, possible that the row of teeth here is not meant to express the whole syllable "tlan", but only "tla", in which case it might stand for *tlalli*, "earth", so that we should have *atoc-tlalli*. This seems to me probable on account of what follows.

The third hieroglyph, which occurs, for instance, in the fifth field of the third row, shows at the top a tree (quau-itl), below it a jug (com-itl), and below that the row of teeth (tlan-tli); these elements give us the word quauh-con-tlan, or quauh-con-tlalli, and the latter may perhaps be resolved into quauhtlalli, contlalli. Quauh-tlalli is wood soil. Sahagun says, volume 2, chapter 12, section 3: Hay otra manera de tierra fertil, donde se hace muy bien el maiz y trigo, llámanla quauhtlalli, que quiere decir, tierra que está estercolada con maderos podridos, es suelta, amarilla, y hueca ("there is another sort of fertile soil, in which corn and wheat flourish very well, they call it quauhtlalli, which is to say, earth which has been manured with rotten wood, it is soft, rich, and golden"). And contlalli is clay. Sahagun says, volume 2, chapter 12, section 5: Hay barro en esta tierra para hacer loza y basijas, es muy bueno y muy pegajoso; amásanla con aquellos pelos de los tallos de las espadañas, y llamase texoquitl y contlalli: de este barro se hacen comales, escudillas, platos, y toda manera de loza ("there is clay in this earth for making tiles and pots, it is very good and very easily molded; they knead it with fibers of the shoots of reed mace, and they call it texoquitl and contlalli: of this clay they make plates, bowls, dishes, and all manner of pottery"). The same earth is described in the preceding section 3, as follows: Hay otra (tierra) pegajosa buena para hacer barro de paredes y suelos para los tlapanco; es fértil, pues se hace bien el maiz y trigo ("there is another kind (of earth) good to mold so as to make clay for walls and floors for the tlapanco; it is fertile, since corn and wheat do well in it").

The three hieroglyphs in the center of the fields would therefore denote sandy or stony soil, vegetable mold, and clayey soil. It is to be noted that the hieroglyphs on the upper side of the fields and those in the middle of the fields always have a certain regular relation to each other, that is, the various domains show a distinct quality of soil. Thus domain 1 has sandy soil; 2 has vegetable mold; 3 has sandy soil; in 4 vegetable mold is given in three cases, but in the third field of the fourth row, if it belongs to this domain, is a clayey soil; domain 5 has clayey soil; domain 6, likewise partly vegetable mold, partly clay; domain 7 has vegetable mold throughout; domain 8, nothing but clayey soil.

On the last page of the Vergara codex, the third of those pages of that manuscript which are reproduced in the Goupil-Boban atlas (plate 39), the quality of the soil in the fields is likewise stated, and it seems in every case to be partly stoney and partly sandy soil (see *a*, *b*, and *c*, figure 45).

Before every row of fields on our fragment (plate XIII), and also on page 34 of the Goupil-Boban atlas and in the Vergara codex, there is a drawing of the person who is declared to be the owner of the fields

in question. These persons, as I have said, are designated plainly, not only by a hieroglyph, but also by the name written beside it. Here, therefore, it is easy to decipher the hieroglyphs. But it should be noticed that, as a matter of course, the Spanish name is not taken into account. Moreover, we must omit some letters, which stand after the names and are probably an abbreviation of a Nānatl word. After the names of the persons in the second and third row we read the syllables omo; after those of the person in the fourth row and of the one on the right of the fragment, the syllables aya°. I am inclined to regard the latter as an abbreviation of ayamo, "not yet", and, accordingly, the former must be an abbreviation of omotlali, "he was installed", "he has been confirmed", or something similar.

The hieroglyphs are of complex structure, and the pictures employed, like those in the Vergara codex, are not always used according to the full value of their syllables, so that there is presented a phase of transition from the old symbolic and syllabic mode of writing to a kind of phonetic writing.

The first person, the one in the second row, according to the explanatory note, bears the name Damian xotlanj. The hieroglyph is composed of some flowers, two rows of teeth, and the figure of a sitting man. The flowers (xoch-tli) give the syllable xo; the teeth (tlantli), the syllable tlan. The seated man I take to mean omotlalli, "he was installed", into which, as I said, the omo after the name xotlani should be expanded.

The second person, the one in the third row, bears the name Luys Netlakahujl. The hieroglyph shows us a doll, a row of teeth, a basket of tamales (filled dumplings made of Indian corn), and a utensil like a skillet. Beside it is the same seated figure. The doll (nenetl) gives the syllable ne; the teeth (tlan-tli), the syllable tla. The tamales and the skillet, which is doubtless supposed to be filled with chili, or red pepper, sauce give the syllable cauil. Nino tlacaulia (derived from caua, "to stay behind") means "I keep something for myself", or "I am taking a meal"; netlacautiliztli, "the meal (merienda)". The person seated is again to be taken as an expression of omo, that is, omotlali, "he was installed".

The name of the person in the fourth row is Pedro Ylhuj. The hieroglyph is a remarkably conventionalized repeated verticillate figure in bright colors, red and yellow with a blue diagonal part, and a yellow feather. Here the yellow feather probably denotes an element not expressed in the name as it is written. The man's name may really have been Ilhuitoz, for toztli is the yellow parrot feather (or one artificially dyed yellow). The front part consists of two squares, each of which shows two little tongues put together after the manner of a swastika, or fylfot, which is undoubtedly meant, like *h*

and *z*, figure 46, to express the word *il-hui-tl*, that is, "the sun's orb", "day", "festival". I drew attention to this figure some years ago,^a but did not at that time interpret it correctly. It occurs on Mexican sculptures in the Berlin Royal Museum of Ethnology (*l*, figure 45) on the piece opposite the picture of the *chalchiuitl*, the luminous, brilliant bead of jadeite. This simple verticillate symbol (*n*, same figure) also occurs on the celestial shields in Maya manuscripts in connection with all sorts of variants of the sun hieroglyph, *o*.

The last person on the imperfect right side of the fragment is called, in the accompanying note, Antonio Totoli Pilhuehue. *Totoli* means "the young turkey", and this is expressed in the hiero-

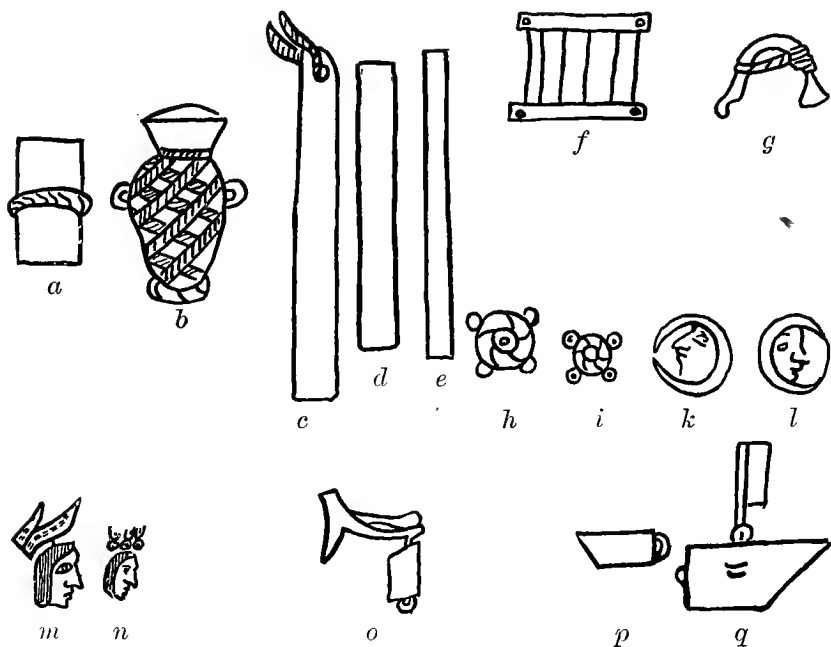
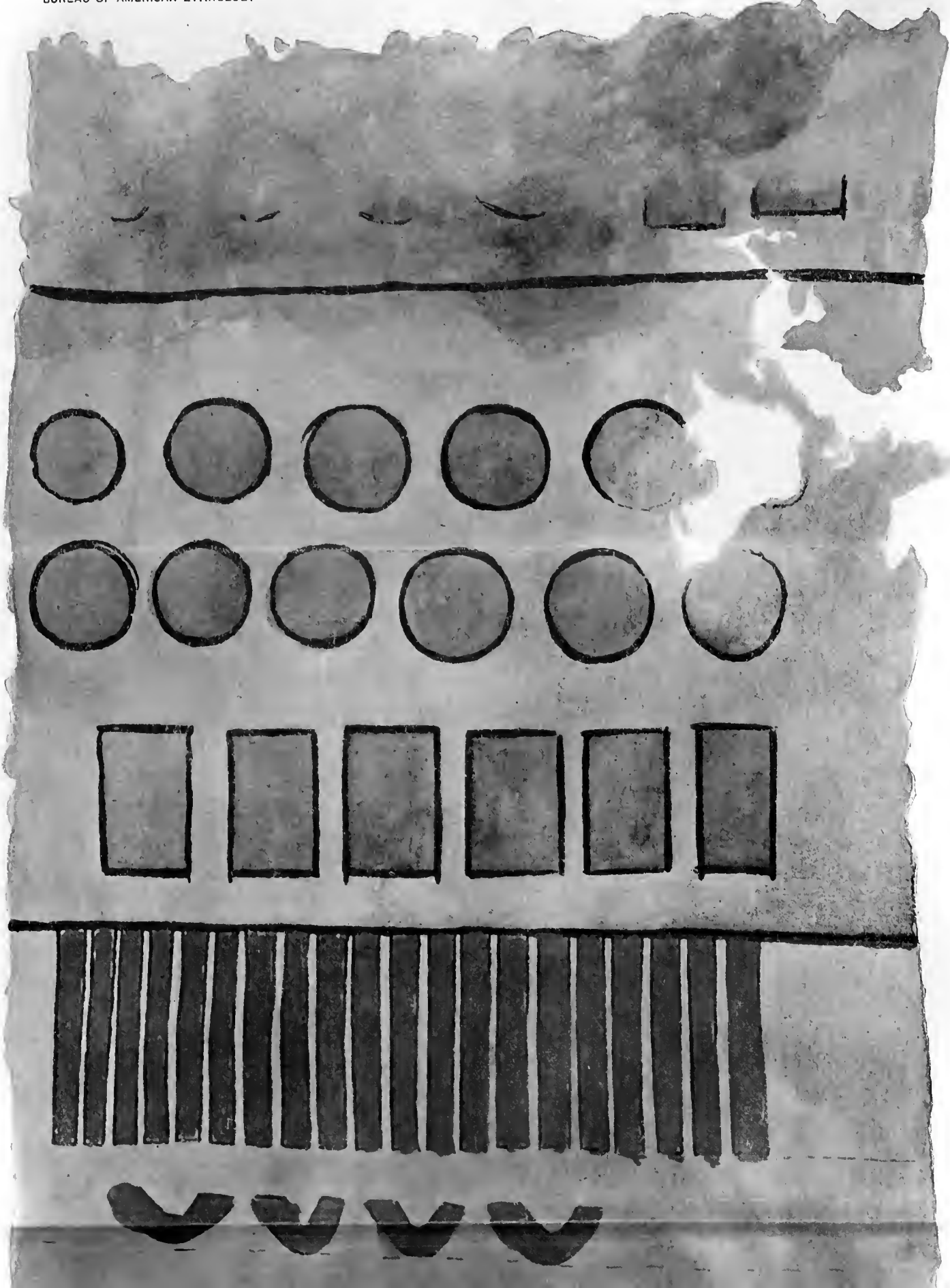


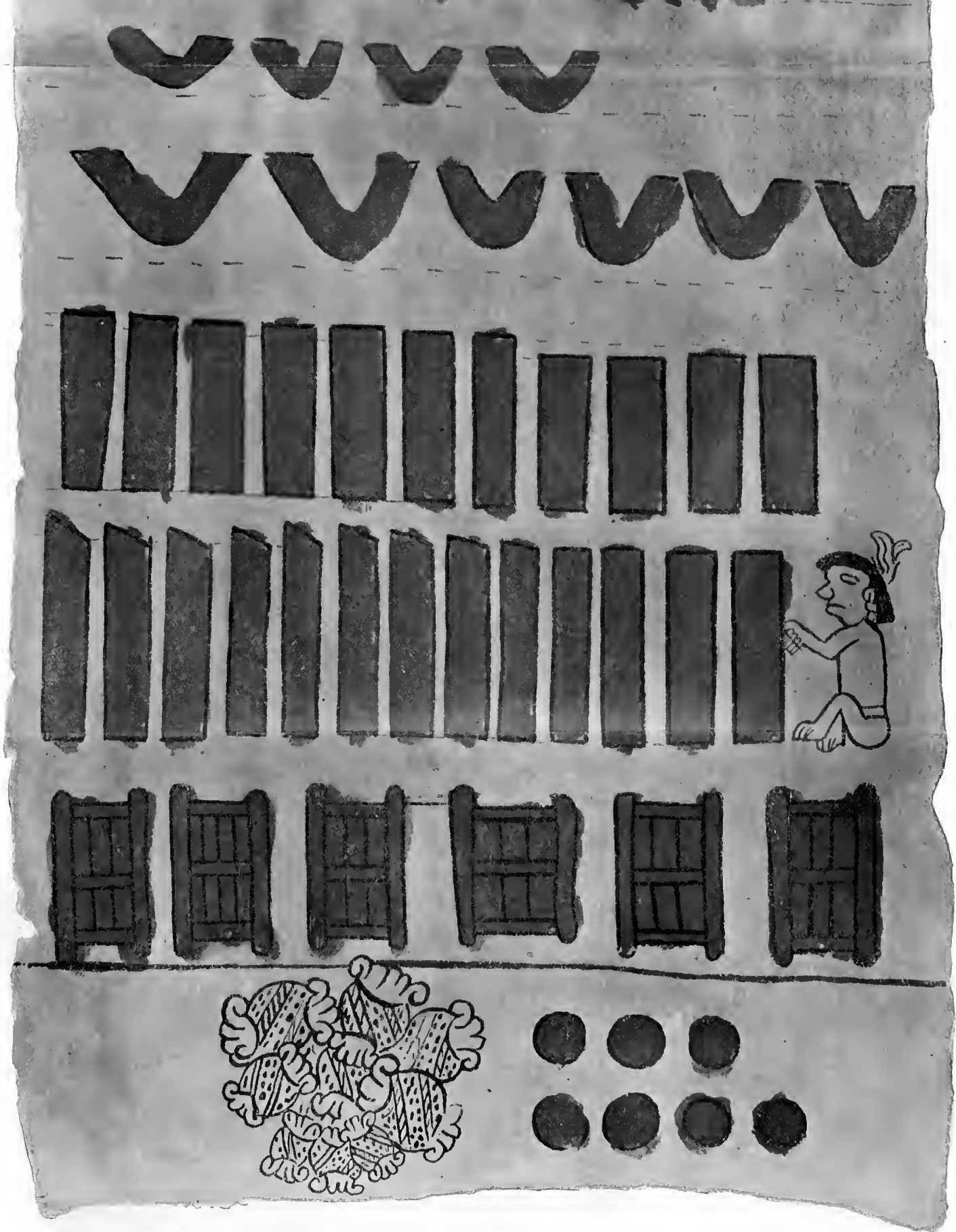
FIG. 46. Mexican symbols for various articles.

glyph by the picture of a bird with short wings. But I am not clear as to the other element below it or what syllable it is meant to express.

From all that we can make out and determine on fragment VIII (plate XIII), it is perfectly obvious that it is very closely analogous, on the one hand, to our fragment VI (plate XI) and, on the other hand, to page 34 of the Goupil-Boban atlas and the so-called Vergara codex. The most striking characteristic of all these manuscripts is the peculiar system of notation—the ones being denoted by marks instead of dots and always combined in groups of five—and also the complicated

^a *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1888, v. 20, pp. 53 and 55.





MEXICAN PAINTING—HUMBOLDT FRAGMENT IX

composition of the hieroglyphs, which approximates syllabic and phonetic writing. All the manuscripts of this kind seem to have originated within the boundaries of the ancient kingdom of Tezcucó, and it seems that this local element, rather than the time of their origin, ought to be taken into account in explaining these peculiar features, for the *Pintura del Gobernador, Alcaldes y Regidores de México* (Osuna codex), which is later than our fragment VI (plate XI), counts with dots instead of marks. We know that Tezcucó was anciently regarded as the seat of refined culture and of a certain kind of scholarship; but Tezcucó was also the first to adapt its native elements, in a certain measure, to the customs and civilization of the foreign conqueror. As long, therefore, as the same peculiar features occur in the manuscripts quoted (*Vergara codex* and others) in genuine old pre-Spanish documents I shall still incline to attribute this development to the Spanish period. For this reason I can not consider these documents of the great importance which Aubin and others attach to them.

FRAGMENTS IX, X, XI, AND XII

These four fragments are alike in character. Fragments IX (plate XIV) and X (plate XV) evidently were once a single strip, as were also fragments XI (plate XVI) and XII (plate XVII). Fragments X (plate XV) and XII (plate XVII) have a line across the top, cut with a sharp instrument; in XII (plate XVII) the cut follows a line drawn across the fragment, parts of which are to be seen at the bottom of fragment XI (plate XVI). The strips are all of the same width, about 17 cm. Fragments X and XI (plates XV and XVI) together are 98 cm. in length, which is therefore the length of the whole strip originally. Fragments XI (plate XVI) and XII (plate XVII) together are 146½ cm., the original length of the second strip. The first strip was once longer above. There are still faint traces of drawings there. The second strip seems to have been cut off sharply at the bottom; moreover, one corner has been cut out with the scissors. It would seem, then, that this strip was also longer. The drawings are done in ink with a coarse pen, and decidedly resemble the illustrations on fragment XV (plate XX), and also somewhat those of ecclesiastical subjects on fragment XVI (plate XXI). The colors used are crimson and yellow, while for the stone wall on fragment XII (plate XVII) a blackish ink has been employed. The circles and squares in the lowest division of fragment IX (plate XIV) are painted crimson. So, too, are the tubs which the three rows of Indians in the upper division of fragment XI (plate XVI) carry on their backs, the transverse rows over and under them, and the hat, coat, and footgear of the

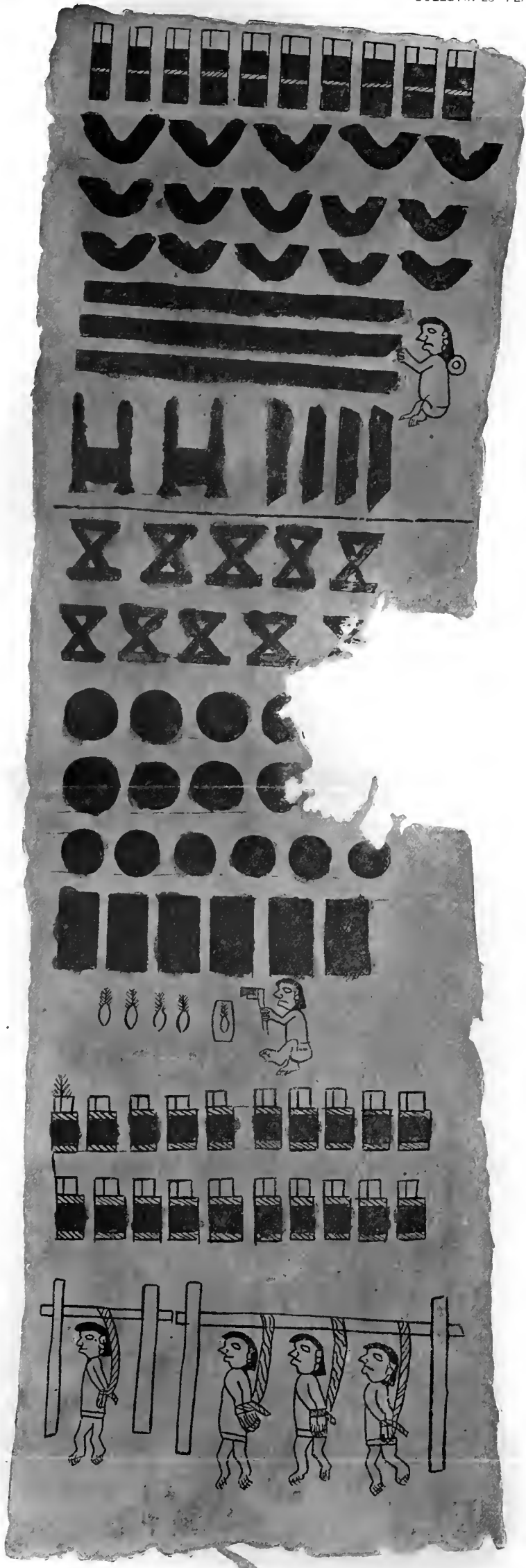
Spaniard; so also is the carpenter's ax on fragment X (plate xv). All else, if colored at all, is painted yellow.

As for the general character of this manuscript, the figure of the Spaniard, on fragment XI (plate xvi), who is pulling two Indians along by a rope and the four Indians, on fragment X (plate xv), who, with their hands bound behind their backs, hang upon a sort of gallows, show that this is a bill of complaint. The Indians enter complaint of oppression on the part of the Spaniards of ill treatment, work unjustly required, and of supplies unpaid for. This is therefore a document similar to the *Pintura del Gobernador, Alcaldes y Regidores de México*, which was discovered in the archives of the Duke of Osuna. But our manuscript unfortunately is not provided with text; therefore a degree of uncertainty will always attach to the interpretations.

Among the various illustrations, I will first draw attention to the one at the top of fragment XI (plate xvi). Here we see the head of an Indian and behind it his hieroglyph, a white roll, probably meant to represent paper (*amatl*) (see *a*, figure 46, from the tribute list in the Mendoza codex, page 27, and described in the text as "papel de la tierra"). After this comes a house, with walls evidently supposed to be built of reeds, like the *xacalli* in the lower part of fragment II (plate vii). But the roof is different. It looks as though there had been an attempt to draw the prickly point of an agave leaf on the house. These sharp points of the agave leaf were called *uitztli*, "thorn", and *uitztli*, or *uitzoctli*, "pricking pulque", was also the name given to newly fermented pulque, the intoxicating drink prepared from the juice of the agave.^a That there is here a reference to something of the kind appears from what follows the house in the drawing. We see there three jugs with basket-work covering, furnished with straw or rope handles.

This illustration is valuable in itself, as it incidentally throws light upon the locality and the outward circumstances. We are forced to conclude that there is a reference here to occurrences on a pulque hacienda. Furthermore, we learn from the jugs on fragment XI (plate xvi) that the peculiar design to be seen on them and similar objects represented on these fragments (an unpainted white border with a stripe running through it on one side) is meant for the mouth of a vessel. The artist may have had in mind a vessel with a sort of lip or spout which was formed by narrowing the mouth at one side. We find the same design on the two transverse rows of red, four-cornered objects corded with ropes, which are represented in the upper portion of fragment XI (plate xvi), as well as on the similar objects painted yellow to be seen in the two transverse rows at the

^a Sahagun, v. 4, chap. 5.



MEXICAN PAINTING—HUMBOLDT FRAGMENT X

bottom of fragment X (plate xv) directly above the Indians hanging on the gallows; furthermore, I believe that these and the four-cornered objects made of yellow staves and corded round the middle, shown at the top of fragment X (plate xv), are all meant to represent vessels, namely, wooden butts or casks for pulque or brandy. I think that I see further proof of this in two other facts: in the first place, because, as we shall see, the delivery of wood and of wooden utensils is noted elsewhere on our fragment; and, further, because we find a snake above the objects which I have explained to be butts or casks—the red ones at the top of fragment XI (plate xvi). The snake was often introduced into ancient pictures when pulque jugs were to be represented. The ring or base on which the pulque jug stands is most frequently formed of the coils of a snake.

The three rows of Indians on fragment XI (plate xvi) with sticks in their hands carrying on their backs tubs which are bound to a ladderlike frame (*cacaxtli*), would illustrate the transportation of pulque, which labor the Spaniards imposed upon the Indians. In the same connection I am inclined to believe that the two Indians on fragment XII (plate xvii) with great pots upon their backs are meant to represent the bringing or transportation of condensed agave juice (see *b*, figure 46), which is in the tribute list, Mendoza codex, pages 29 and 77, and explained in the text as *miel de maguey espesa* “thickened maguey honey”). The two Indians at the bottom of fragment XI (plate xvi) with the small jugs on their backs might convey the same idea, or perhaps they are bringing real honey (see the similar but smaller figure in the tribute list of the Mendoza codex, page 38, which is explained in the text as *cantarillo de miel de abeja* (“small jug of bee’s honey”).

The drawing at the bottom of fragment XII (plate xvii) is also perfectly intelligible. Here we see three slaughtered pigs. It is obvious from the shape of the hoofs that they are meant for pigs, and that they are supposed to be slaughtered is plainly indicated by the red color under the snout; but if these are pigs, then it is clear that the animal’s head in the ten or eleven rows of baskets, which are bound to a ladder-shaped carrying frame (*cacaxtli*), on fragments XI (plate xvi) and XII (plate xvii), must likewise signify pork. If this should not be perfectly plain to anyone, I would refer him to the lowest row, on fragment XII (plate xvii), where the pig’s foot is distinctly drawn in addition to the pig’s head.

The great majority of other representations deal with the delivery of wood and wooden utensils. The long pieces with a hole at the end, in fragments X (plate xv) and XII (plate xvii) represent beams (see *c*, figure 46, which is explained in the tribute list, Mendoza codex, page 34, as *vigas grandes*—“large beams”). The smaller and more

slender pieces probably represent boards and laths (see *d* and *e*, which are explained in the tribute list, Mendoza codex, pages 25 and 28, as *tablones de madera grandes* and *morillos de madera*—"large wooden planks"). The large round circles and the broad four-cornered pieces may be meant for table tops or possibly blocks of wood. Moreover, on fragments IX (plate xiv) and X (plate xv) there are drawings of pieces of bent wood; on fragment X (plate xv) two rows of seats; and on fragments X (plate xv) and XI (plate xvi), drawings which seem to be bedsteads. The objects in the row at the bottom of fragment IX (plate xiv) are probably meant for lath frames or sleeping benches, for we find very similar figures drawn on page 34 of the Goupil-Boban atlas under the name of *tlapechtli*, rendered *tablado*, *andamio*, *cama de tablas* ("framework, scaffolding, a broad bed"), Molina (see *f*, figure 46). Finally, carpentry is clearly denoted by the figure of a carpenter (*tlaxinqui*) with an ax (*tlaximaltepoztlí*) in his hand (see *g*, which designates carpenters, *carpinteros*, in the *Pinturna del Gobernador, Alcaldes y Regidores de México*).

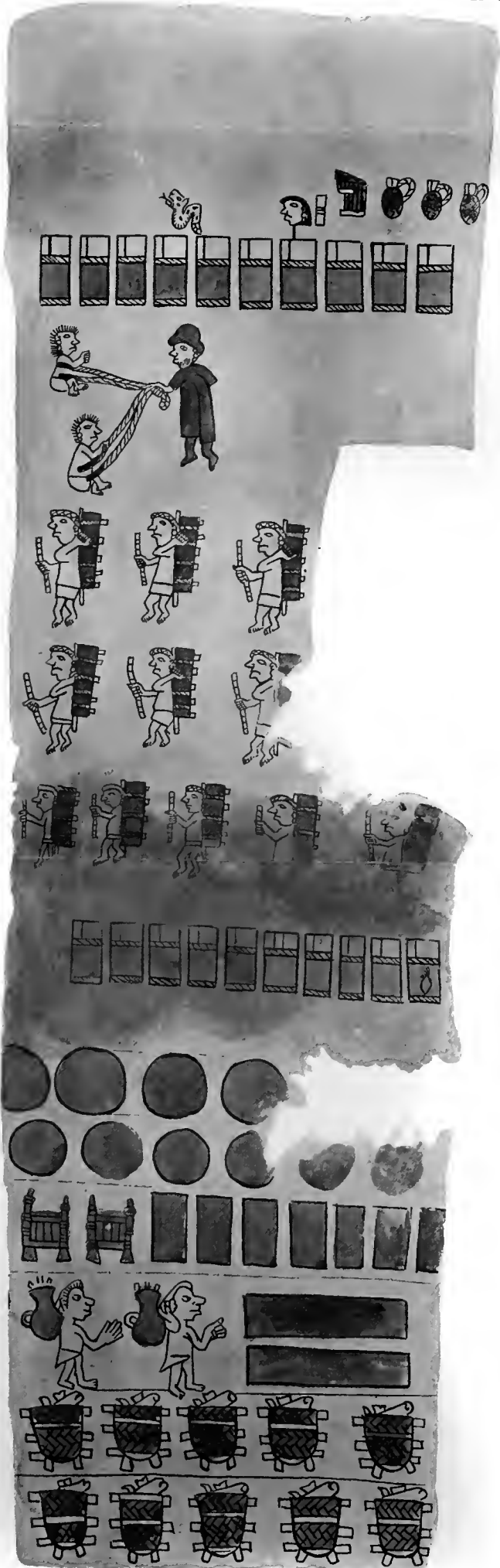
And, lastly, the delivery of stone or masonry is represented on fragment IX (plate xiv) by a heap of stones, and near the lower end of fragment XII (plate xvii) by a row of stones.

If, then, we read the details correctly, complaints are made in our manuscript, first, at the bottom of fragment X (plate xv), of ill treatment; then, of compulsory labor, at the top of fragment XI (plate xvi); and, lastly, of unjust requisitions of or failure to pay for wood and various wood articles, pulque casks, stone, and pork.

FRAGMENT XIII

This is a strip of tolerably thin fine agave paper, 49. by 31 cm. in size (plate xviii). Only the lower half is written on, and of this only the lower portions are colored, the upper part being merely outlined, that is, unfinished, a proof that here, too, the writer began in the old way, at the lower end of the strip, proceeding upward with his entries. The lower end is imperfect; but, judging by the space occupied by the Spanish document written on the reverse side, there can not be much missing. At any rate, there was no other row beneath the lowest one.

The document is of precisely the same character as one of the manuscripts which passed from the collection of the Hon Joel R. Poinsett, formerly United States minister to Mexico, into the possession of the American Philosophical Society, in Philadelphia, and which is published in the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, new series, volume 12, part 2, article 4 (Philadelphia, 1892), under the title *Tribute Roll 4 (Calendar 1)*. There, as here, we see circles painted yellow alternating with red circles



MEXICAN PAINTING—HUMBOLDT FRAGMENT XI

containing a verticillate drawing, a sort of swastika. There are always six yellow circles between the red ones, which is a clear proof that the yellow circles are meant for week days, the red ones for Sundays. Indeed, the whirling figure of the swastika is only a somewhat different form of the sign (*h* and *i*, figure 46) which the Mexicans used for the word *ilhuitl*, which meant "day", but in a special sense "feast day", "festival". In the manuscript of the American Philosophical Society we must begin with the lowest row on the right, follow this to the left, and the next from left to right, and so on, back and forth. Wherever a new month begins the series of week days is interrupted by the picture of the moon, which is alternately drawn facing to the right and the left (see *k* and *l*, same figure), and is not to be included in counting the series of days. Proceeding from below upward, we have, in succession, first a month of 31 days, then one of 30 days, again 31 days, 30 days, 31 days, and, lastly, 31 days once more. This last month must, therefore, have been August or January, the first one March or August. On our fragment (plate XVIII) the sign for the first day of the month is missing. The rows are probably to be followed back and forth, as described above, as we are led to conclude by certain facts which will be mentioned below. But the true circumstances can no longer be determined because several days have been cut away with scissors from the right-hand side of the page.

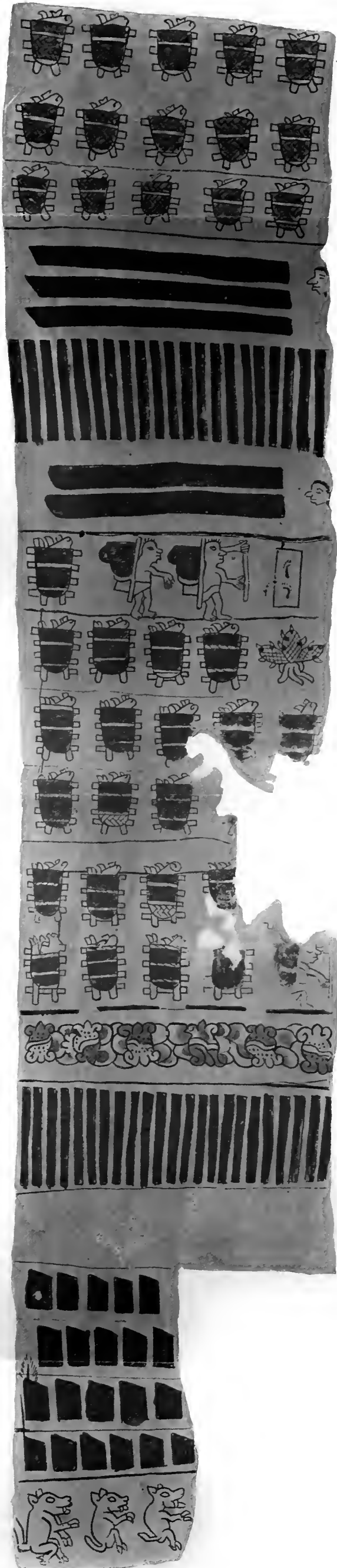
Over each separate day on our fragment there is a woman's head, recognizable by the two erect hornlike braids over the forehead—the hair dress of Mexican women (see *r*, figure 37). This can hardly mean anything else than that on the days in question women were commanded to do service. The heads are arranged over the days in pairs, facing each other, and between the two faces there is always a little flag, the hieroglyphic expression for the number 20. In the two upper rows the matter is simplified. Only one head is drawn and this is connected by a straight line with two consecutive days, the number 20 standing beside the single head. At the left end of the lowest row an odd day was left over. The woman's head is placed over this, but only the half of 20, the numeral 10, is added, and this is correct. But, in addition, this odd day is connected with an odd day at the left end of the second row from the bottom, and then, pleonastically, as it were, the numeral 20 is placed between them. All this can hardly be explained excepting on the assumption that the shifts of workers were changed every two days, that is, that different women came every two days. But the fact that the writer passed from the left end of the lowest row to the left end of the next higher proves that he began at the right-hand lower corner, as in the case of the document of the American

Philosophical Society, and followed the rows back and forth, always connecting directly with the last end. But there seems to be a hiatus at the left end of the third row. The writer must have begun anew here, that is, at the right of the fourth row. In the manuscript of the American Philosophical Society a woman's head is likewise always joined with two days. Thus the shifts of workers must there also have been changed every two days. There are no numerals with the heads.

The chief service in which women have been employed among all the tribes has always been cooking. With the Mexicans this was an especially important office, as the chief article of diet, the tortilla (tlaxcalli), could not be prepared in large quantities to be kept, like our bread, but was freshly prepared by a somewhat elaborate process for every meal, and eaten fresh and hot. The American Philosophical Society's manuscript clearly and distinctly shows that this is the feminine office alluded to in our manuscript, because in one instance beside the woman's head a mealing stone (metlatl) is depicted with the pulverized grain on it, followed by the baking slab (*o*, figure 46), and in another the head is followed by a dry measure, *p*, which in Mexican painting denoted a fanega of corn (see *q*, taken from a page in the Aubin-Goupil collection, Goupil-Boban atlas, plate 27). On the page referred to there are five such measures with the little flag above them (20), and the Spanish text below explains that this means 100 fanegas of corn (que se entiende cien hanegas de mahiz). But since not only the mealing stone, but also the corn measure, was drawn beside the women's heads, I think it can be safely deduced that the account represented in the American Philosophical Society's manuscript noted not merely the service performed, but also the material delivered.

In our fragment XIII (plate xviii) no such objects are drawn beside the women's heads. But the writing on the reverse side of the page proves that the reference is to similar services. The manuscripts in A. von Humboldt's collection are, as I have already stated, with the exception of the first, pasted upon large sheets of paper of the size of the atlas of which this is the descriptive text. In examining fragment XIII (plate xviii), which is rather thin paper, it first occurred to me that there must be writing on the reverse side. I began cautiously to detach it, and by calling in expert assistance I succeeded in removing the sheet uninjured from its backing. On the reverse side I found the following document:

Digo yo diego hermano del mayordomo deste pueblo de misquiaguala q. resebí del señor manuel de olvera coregidor deste dicho pueblo 101 peso y medio de las yndias quellas q. an hecho tortillas en su casa y me a pagado todas las demas q. han servido hasta oy. fecho



MEXICAN PAINTING—HUMBOLDT FRAGMENT XII

á veynte y nueve de mayo de mill y quiniento y sesenta y nueve años
 tg mechior de contreras y galp ——— q. firmo per el otrgante

s melchior de
 contreras

ante mi

p. de palen —

“ I, Diego, brother of the bailiff of this village Mizquiyauallan, acknowledge that I have received from Mr Manuel de Olvera, magistrate of this said village, 101½ pesos for the women who made tortillas at his house, and (that) he has paid me for all the other (women) who have performed services up to the present date. Done on May 29, 1569. Witness, Melchior de Contreras y Galp ——— in evidence of which I sign for him who executes this document.

“ Melchior de Contreras.

“ Before me, P. de Palen, —.”)

a

b

c

d

FIG. 47. Official signatures.

It is therefore clear that this fragment XIII was likewise an account, one indeed of services rendered by women, who were ordered to bake tortillas and to do other work. The account comes from the same village of Mizquiyauallan, to which the account on fragment VII (plate XII) of our collection belongs, and the reverse contains the receipt for wages paid for these services. The days which were cut out of the right side of the sheet seem to represent a deduction, a reduction of the account or a correction to which the person presenting it was obliged to submit. This document is two years older than that on fragment VII (plate XII).

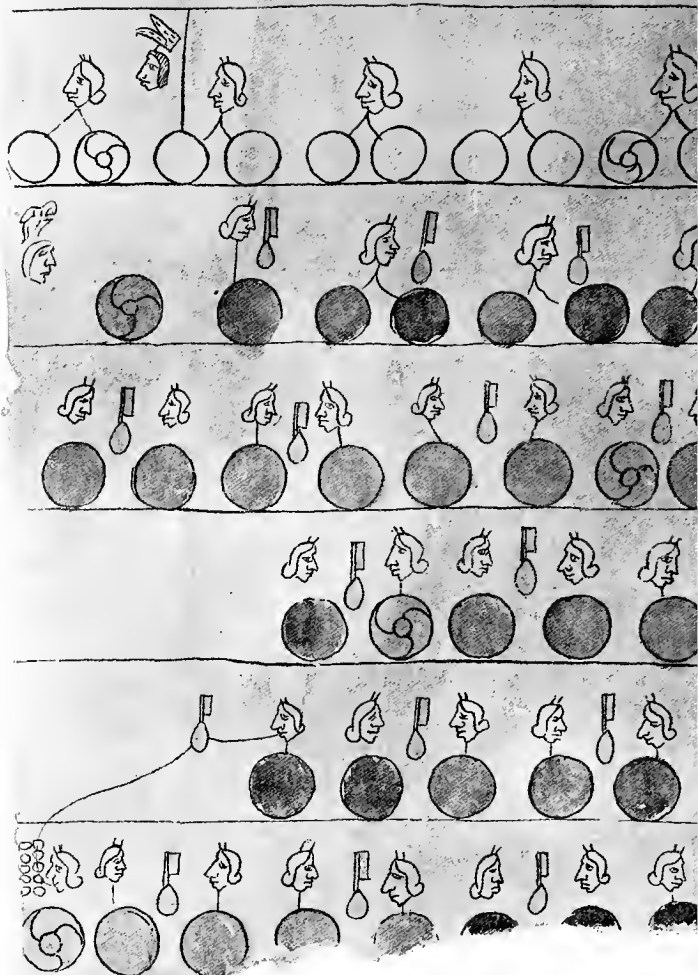
As for the persons concerned, the receiver of the money is the brother of the major-domo of Mizquiyauallan, and is mentioned here, as is common among Indians, merely by his Christian name, Diego. The major-domo's name is not given, but it is probable that he is

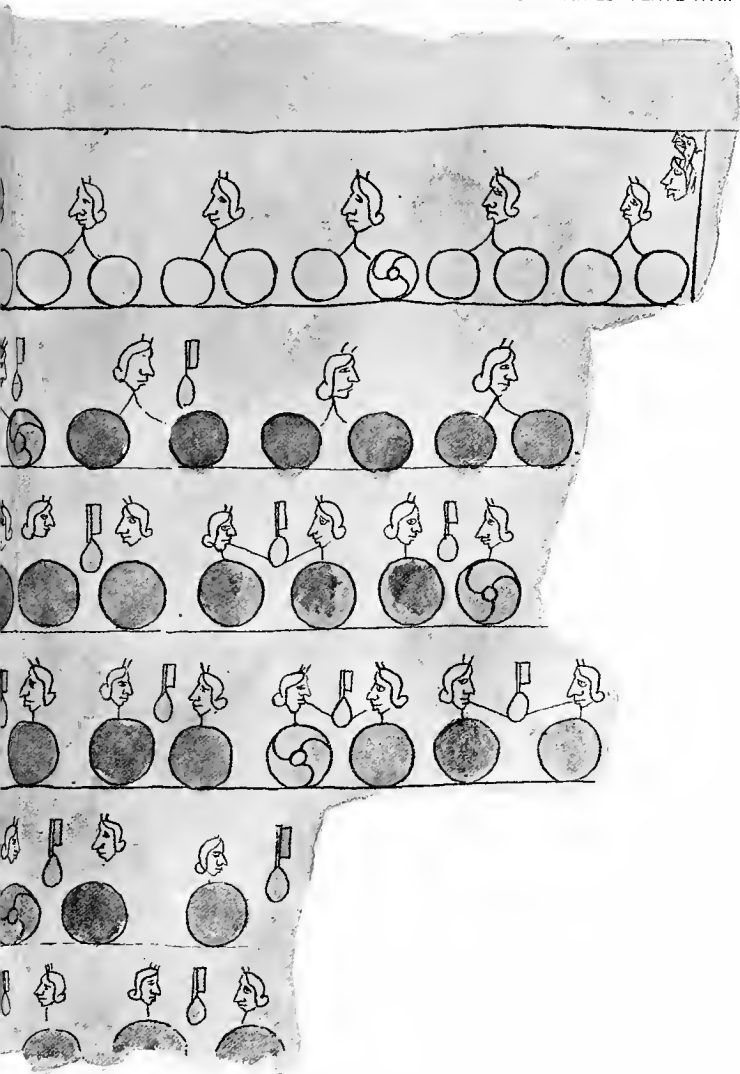
the person who signed the receipt on fragment VII (plate XII). There the major-domo himself signed the receipt (*a*, figure 47). Here his brother does not know how to write. A Spaniard, Melchior de Contreras y Galp——— (*c*) signs for him. The bill is paid by the same Manuel de Olvera mentioned on fragment VII (plate XII). Here, two years earlier, he was corregidor; that is, village magistrate.

I can not quite decipher the signature of the official before whom the business was transacted, *d*.

Finally, it is to be noticed that there are moreover three men's heads on our fragment, each with a hieroglyph behind or over it, which undoubtedly gives the name of the man. The heads with hieroglyphs in the top row both stand at the beginning of a section marked by a line of partition. The same seems to be the case in the second row from the top; for the progression here, as shown by the position of the women's heads, is from left to right, although the beginning of the division here (at the left end) is not especially denoted by a line. In exactly the same way a man's head with a hieroglyph is placed at the beginning of a section, designated by a line, in the document of the American Philosophical Society. These men's heads most probably represent the gobernadores de Indios or the village magistrates who furnished the women to bake tortillas. The man on the left end of the second row from the top has the head of a bird of prey behind him as a hieroglyph. His name may have been quauhti, "eagle", cuixtli, "hawk", or something of the kind. The man on the right end of the top row must have had a similar name. The man at the left end of the top row has a hieroglyph which seems to consist of two pointed leaf ends, with thorns on the upper surface. This may be the hieroglyph for Uitznauatl, for in the list of names of persons of Uextotzineo, where Uitznauatl is a quite common name, it is invariably expressed by the points of two agave leaves drawn side by side. It is very remarkable that in the document of the American Philosophical Society one of the two men's heads represented there, the one at the left end of the third row from the top, is marked by the same hieroglyph (see *m*, figure 46). The one at the right end of the fifth row was probably named Quiyauh, for his hieroglyph consists of three drops of rain hanging down (or falling) (see *n*, same figure).

Fragment XIII (plate XVIII) of our collection and the Tribute Roll 4 (Calendar 1) of the American Philosophical Society are doubtless distinct and independent documents, but so closely akin in idea, in drawing, and in various details, that we can safely attribute them to the same locality and period. Our fragment XIII (plate XVIII), having its explanation on the reverse side, is, therefore, a





UMBOLDT FRAGMENT XIII

valuable document by which to judge the manuscript in the possession of the American Philosophical Society.

I have already mentioned that fragment VII (plate XII) of our collection, which, like fragment XIII (plate XVIII), now under discussion, came from the village of Mizquiyauallan, seems to have belonged to the Boturini collection. I quoted the passage in Boturini's Museo Indiano (Catálogo, number 1, section 21) which describes these manuscripts from Mizquiyauallan: Tres mapas en papel indiano como faxas. Tratan de los tributos que pagaba el pueblo de Mizquiahuàllan, y en el se ven las cifras numéricas de cada cosa, que entregaban los vecinos ("Three maps on Indian paper like bands. They treat of the tribute paid by the village of Mizquiyauallan, and contain the numerical statement of each article furnished by the householders").

Now, if the one page of the Poinsett collection, at present belonging to the American Philosophical Society, is so closely related to fragment VII (plate XI) of our collection, and the other to our fragment XIII (plate XVIII) that we feel tempted to attribute them to the same place and date, then the question arises whether the two American manuscripts are not also mentioned in Boturini. This seems, indeed, to be the case; for, directly after the passage quoted above, two other and longer manuscripts from the same village are mentioned in section 21 of the Museo Indiano, under numbers 2 and 4:

2. Otro [mapa] de la misma materia y mas largo, de dicho pueblo [Mizquiahuàllan] ("Another [map] of the same material and larger from the same village [Mizquiyauallan]").

4. Otro del mismo papel y más largo del mismo pueblo ("Another on the same paper and larger from the same village").

FRAGMENT XIV

This (plate XIX) is a piece of tolerably thick, firm agave paper, 34 by 15 cm. Near the upper end two strips have been pasted one over the other. The frayed end of the strip underneath is plainly visible. Below the top row are the words estancia de tlatonpan.

The fragment may be divided into two essentially different parts, an upper and a lower one. In the upper part everything is painted crimson and in the lower yellow predominates. The base of the upper part is formed by a strip inclosed within two transverse lines, in which are three men's heads, each having a remarkable character behind it which looks like a key. Two of them are, moreover, provided with special hieroglyphs. I take the character which looks like a key actually to be one, and consider it as an expression of the word tlatlati, which means "he who hides something, or shuts up or guards something" (el que guarda alguna cosa, o el que esconde algo,

Molina), for in the Xaltepetlapan list of names of persons (Manuscript Mexican number 3, Bibliothèque Nationale) I find mention of a man named Juan Tlatlatin, who is described by the hieroglyph *a*, figure 48; that is, by a hand holding up a key. The first person from the right seems to be hieroglyphically designated by two horns on his head. His name may therefore have been Quaquauh (see *b* and *c*, same figure), which in the list of names of persons (Manuscript Mexican number 3, Bibliothèque Nationale) denote persons of that name. The second person seems to be hieroglyphically designated by a stone (*te-tl*) and water (*a-tl*). The third person has no hieroglyph, and I can not interpret the circular design in front of him.

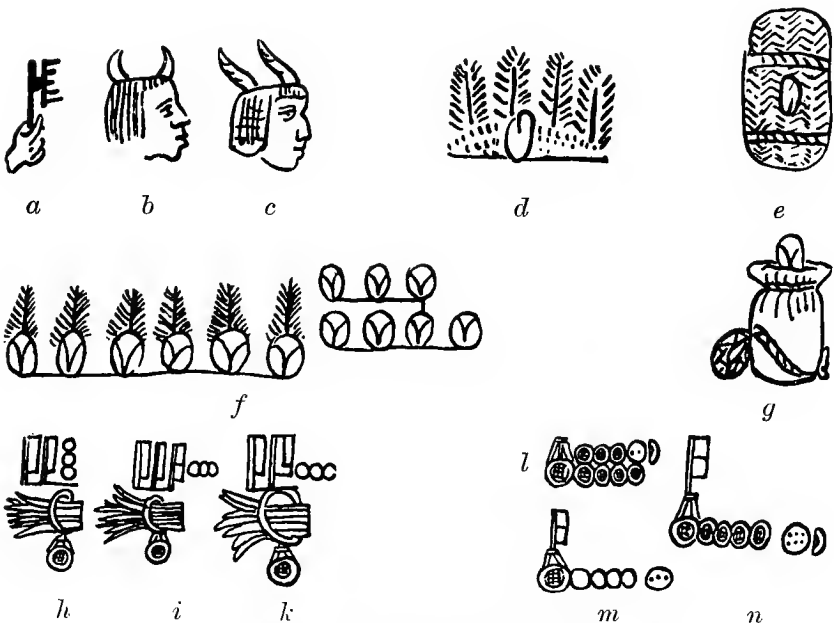
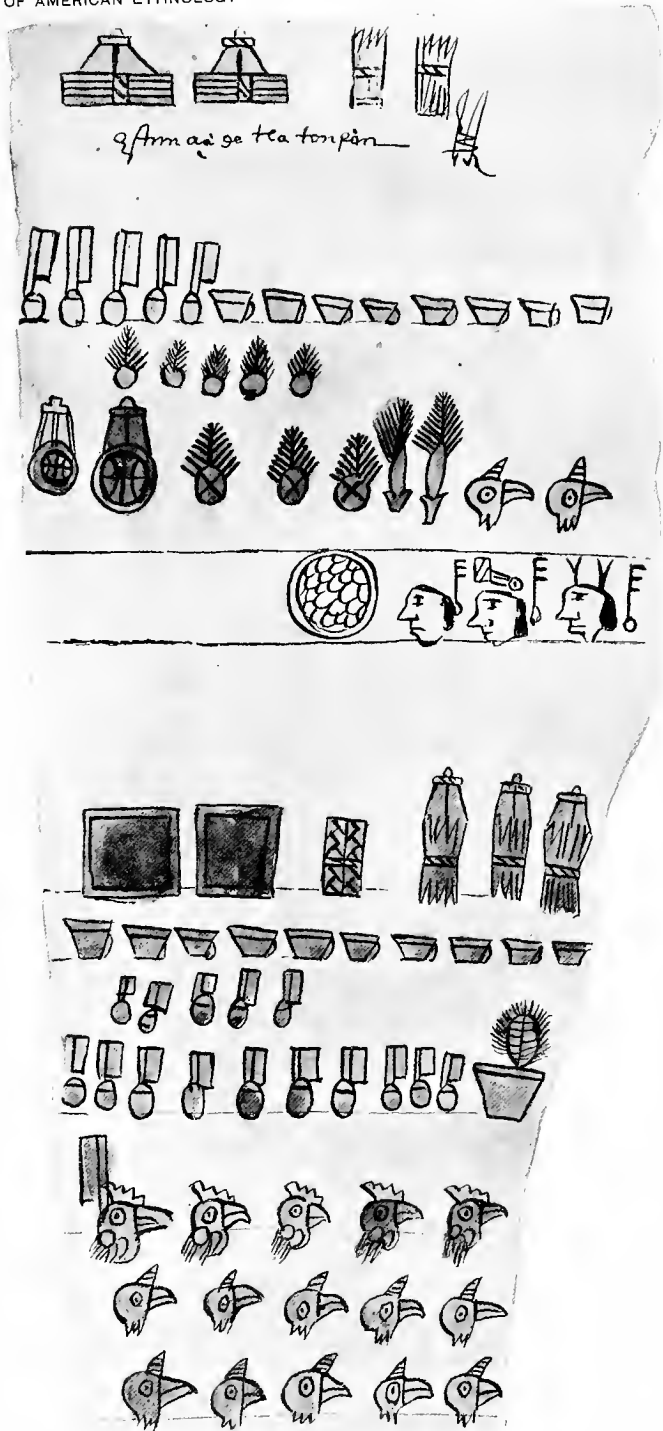


FIG. 48. Symbols for certain persons and for numbers.

Both divisions of the page treat of the same matter, the delivery of articles for which payment is asked or nonpayment is complained of; that is, it is an account or a bill of complaint.

If we take for granted that we are to proceed from below upward, as in the other fragments, then the first representation below would be ten turkey hens, followed by five cocks. Beside the cock at the left end of the row, however, there is a small flag, the sign for 20. This, therefore, must mean 24 cocks. In the next row above, first on the right, there is a vessel and above that a figure, which I can not explain, surrounded by featherlike rays, very much like those (see the upper half of this fragment) which are drawn to denote the num-



MEXICAN PAINTING—HUMBOLDT FRAGMENT XIV

ber 400 (tzontli). Then follow small oblong objects, each with a small flag (20), and in the row above there are ten vessels, each of which probably stands for a fanega of corn (see *p* and *q*, figure 46).

We have in the right lower section of the red upper portion of our fragment first, immediately over the men's heads, two turkeys' heads, similar to the lower division. Then follow two figures which are probably meant for chili, "red-pepper pods", each provided with the bush, which denotes the number centzontli, or 400. Turkey and red-pepper sauce belong together. Molle con guajolote is still the holiday dish throughout the country. Then follow three round objects, each intersected by a cross and with the number 400 attached; then, two peculiar figures, which we have not hitherto encountered, and of which I shall speak directly. Over them are five small circles, each with the number 400, and in the row above eight vessels (fanegas of corn) and round objects like those in the lower row, each with a little flag indicating 20.

The question now arises, what are the little oval objects, fifteen of which in the lower compartment are marked with a little flag, a total of 3,000, and five in the upper portion with the little flag, a total of 1,000? Since these articles are counted and the amounts reach so high a figure, I think they must be meant for cacao beans (see *d* to *g*, figure 48). This mode of counting also occurs in other manuscripts (see *d*, taken from the tribute list in the Mendoza codex, page 19, described in the text as "1,600 almendras de cacao"; and *f*, taken from the Pintura del Gobernador, Alcaldes y Regidores de México, where the little flag or 20 is omitted from the single beans on the right). The text says, chiquacen tzontli ypan chicompohualli, which means six times four hundred, and seven times twenty (cacao beans). But this very omission of the little flag in this painting proves that the unit in counting chocolate nuts was the number 20, which is always applied on our page to these doubtful objects. It is well known that chocolate nuts were used in ancient Mexico for small change and were therefore counted.

The decussated and plain circles in the upper division, all provided with the bush (for 400), are probably only simple numerals, and refer either to what went before (the red-pepper pods) or to what follows above (the chocolate nuts).

As for the two peculiar figures at the left end of the lower row in the upper division, they are an expression for a load, derived from the scale pan of a balance. This is obvious from a manuscript in the Aubin-Goupil collection, formerly owned by Don Antonio Leon y Gama, that is interesting on account of the peculiarities of its system of notation, which will be noticed here and were first noted by

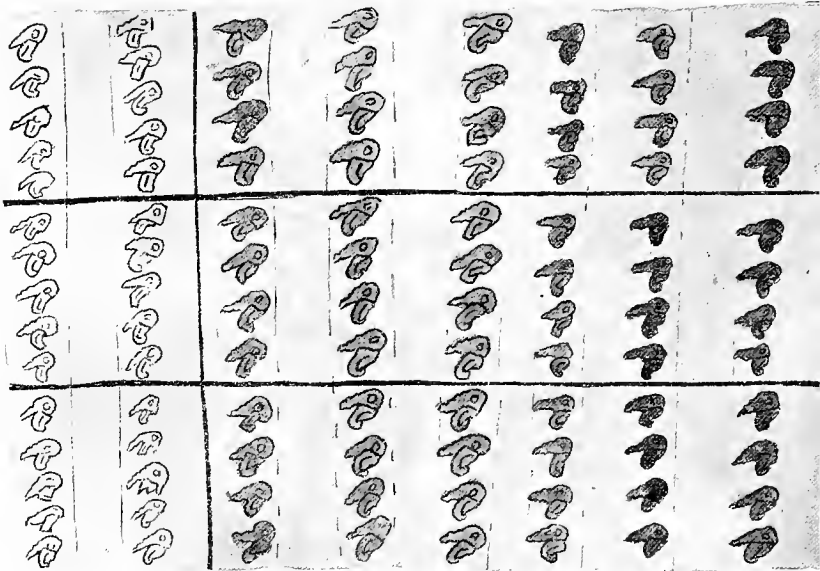
Gama in his appendix relating to Mexican arithmetic.^a A page of this manuscript is reproduced on plate 30 of the Goupil-Boban atlas. Here we see, for instance, forty-three, fifty-three, and thirty-eight loads of cornstalks (*zacate*) expressed by *h*, *i*, and *k*. I have chosen these examples because they illustrate the peculiarities of notation, which occur in this manuscript. On this page the number 10 is expressed by halving the little flag, which denotes 20, and coloring only one of the halves, the number 15, by cutting away a fourth part of the little flag and coloring the other three-fourths. It is significant for our fragment that in all the three figures *h* to *k* we have not only the bundle of *zacate*, but also a scale pan hanging from it, which is the symbol of a load. That the scale pan does indeed typify the weight, a load, on this page is made still further evident by the fact that on the same page the same symbol of the scale pan is used to denote the coin 1 peso, as we saw it in *e*, figure 44 (see *l* to *n*, figure 48, where the reals and medios are attached to the pesos in the same way as we saw them in *e* to *f*, figure 44, which I have already discussed more particularly). The two figures at the left end of the lower row in the upper (red) division, therefore, must signify a load. This again may refer to what went before (the red-pepper pods) or to what follows (the cacao beans); for these were also reckoned by loads (see *e* to *g*, figure 48, the former from the Mendoza codex, the latter from the *Pintura del Gobernador, Alcaldes y Regidores de México*).

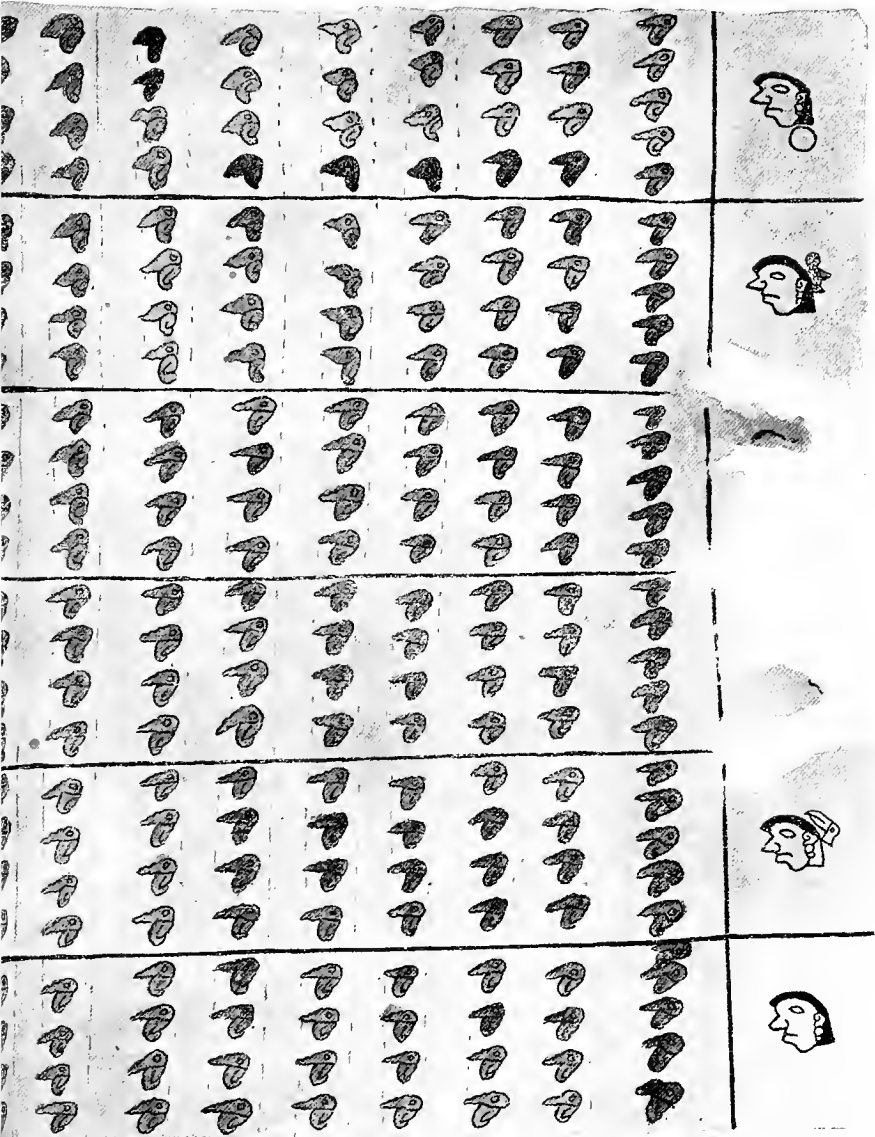
This being settled, the top rows of the two divisions also become clear. In the top row of the lower division we have on the right first, three loads of *zacate*. Here no scale pan is drawn hanging from the bundle, as in *h* to *k*, but the whole bundle, instead of the scale pan, hangs by the three cords. Then follows a mat, and, lastly, two square objects which may represent boards or perhaps some woven fabric.

In the top row of the upper division we have first, on the right, two bundles of *zacate*; then, two loads of wood. Here the load is drawn in the same way as in the lower division; that is, the bundle of wood in place of the scale pan hangs from the three cords.

Plate 30 of the Goupil-Boban atlas, which gave us the key to the meaning of the figures selected to denote loads on fragment XIV (plate XIX) of our collection, belongs to a manuscript which is furnished with text and is a bill of complaint issued against Captain Jorge Cerón y Carabajal, *alcalde mayor* of the town of Chalco, brought before the Real Audiencia of Mexico in the year 1564. It is not improbable that our fragment came from the same locality, and perhaps it belongs to the same period.

^a Gama, *Dos Piedras*, edid. Bustamente. México, 1832, p. 137.





HUMBOLDT FRAGMENT XV

FRAGMENT XV

This (plate xx) is a strip of agave paper 34 cm. long and 52 cm. wide, which resembles the fragments X to XII (plates xv, xvi, and xvii). The drawing of the figures also exhibits an unmistakable resemblance to those fragments.

This fragment also belongs among those of our collection which can with tolerable certainty be identified with some of those described by Boturini. It is mentioned in the *Catálogo del Museo Indiano* in section 21, under number 10: Otro [mapa] del mismo [papel Indiano], y pinta gran Numero de pavos, que se pagavan de Tributo. No se sabe de que pueblo ("another [map] on the same paper [Indian paper], which depicts a great number of turkeys, which were paid as tribute, it is not known from what town").

Besides the personages on the right, there are only turkey cocks (designated by the heads) represented in the six divisions, which are formed on the fragment by transverse lines. The first fifteen vertical rows are painted red, the last two blue. In every transverse division we have in the first vertical row (on the right) 5 turkey heads, and in all the following vertical rows only 4. The whole number of red turkey heads occurring in one division is, therefore, 61. The rows of blue turkeys are probably incomplete.

Of the persons on the right side of the fragment the lowest one has no hieroglyph. The next one is designated by a bird's head with a long curved beak. The next two are destroyed. The one before the last has for a hieroglyph the picture of a fish close beside his head; his name, therefore, was probably Michin. The topmost one has a circle below his head, which may have reference to his name.

FRAGMENT XVI

We have next a strip of thick, firm paper 35 cm. long, 45 cm. wide, which looks like European paper made of rags. Microscopic investigation, however, reveals a fiber which in appearance, thickness of cell wall, size of lumen, etc., is apparently precisely like the fibers of the coarse agave paper used for fragments III (plate viii) and IV (plate ix). But, together with these, single fibers occur which are very delicate and spirally coiled, and which seem to stretch and unroll slightly in the water of the object glass.

This fragment, as the creases prove, was folded in four parts, and is much damaged, especially on the right side. The drawings are done in black ink, without other coloring. The pictures begin above at the left, and continue in this row from left to right, but in the second row from right to left, and so on, the direction alternating.

The representations are of a religious nature. In order to understand them it is necessary to consult the Roman Catechism, especially

those versions of it which were used in earlier times, as well as down to the present day, by the priests who were sent to the Indian villages to instruct the natives and take charge of their spiritual welfare. I found an exact agreement between the representations on our fragment and the text of a *Catecismo en Idioma Mixteco*, printed in 1839 at Puebla. The numerals given on the fragment at once made it plain to me that the fourteen articles of faith of the Roman catechism, and, lower down, the ten commandments are here represented. I will take the catechism printed in 1839 as my starting point, and will give in each successive section, first, the paragraph from the catechism and then the description of the picture which explains it.

The first row begins at the left: Section 1. *Los articulos de la Fé son catorce* ("There are fourteen articles of faith"). The picture shows us first a page covered with writing and a hand which points to it. This means article. Then comes a cross on a base formed by a series of steps; this means faith. Then comes the numeral 14, arranged in the usual way in groups of five. Section 2. *Los siete pertenecen á la divinidad* ("Seven appertain to the deity"). The picture gives us first the numeral 7 and then a bearded (Spanish) face, and over it a drawing, apparently meant to represent a halo, consisting of a metal disk, in the center of which and at regular distances in the periphery there are perforations. This is the hieroglyph regularly used throughout to denote God. Section 3. *Y los otros siete [pertenecen] á la santa humanidad de nuestro Señor Jesucristo* ("And the other seven [appertain] to the holy humanity of our Lord Jesus Christ"). The picture gives first the numeral 7. Then, on a base, cross, spear, and the sponge soaked in vinegar and fastened to a reed, which means the crucified, the God-man. Section 4. *Los [siete articulos] que pertenecen á la divinidad son estos*. ("Those [seven articles] which appertain to the deity are these"). The picture gives first the numeral 7, then the hieroglyph for "article" (see section 1), then the picture of God (see section 2), only there is a flowing garment indicated here below the head. Section 5. *El primero [articulo] creer en one Omnipotente Dios* ("The first [article], to believe in one Omnipotent God"). The picture gives the numeral 1, the hieroglyph "article", and the picture of God. With the hieroglyph "article" is combined a figure which is difficult to interpret. Possibly it is meant to represent the One over all things, the Almighty. Section 6. *El segundo [articulo], creer que es Dios Padre* ("The second [article], to believe that He is God, the Father"). The picture is partly destroyed. The numeral 2 must have stood at the top. Then follows the hieroglyph "article", and the picture of God as He was represented in section 4, but here He has two arms. The left hand holds the imperial globe. In the right He probably

held a scepter. Section 7. El tercero [artículo], creer que es Dios Hijo (“The third [article], to believe that He is God, the Son”). Part of the numeral 3 is still visible with the hieroglyph “article”, below, and, close by, a figure with a garment like the one in section 4 and an outstretched arm. The head and essential parts, however, are destroyed.

The second row begins at the right: Section 1. El cuarto [artículo], creer que es Dios Espíritu Santo (“The fourth [article], to believe that He is God, the Holy Ghost”). On the right a part of the numeral 4 is still discernible. Then follows the hieroglyph “article”, and then the dove descending from heaven, which is the Holy Ghost. Section 2. El quinto [artículo], creer que es Criador (“The fifth [article], to believe that He is the Creator”). At the right of the division is the numeral 5, and in front of it the hieroglyph “article”. On the left is God with the imperial globe in His hand. Above, are depicted the starry heavens; below, a house built of bones, that is, the lower regions. Section 3. El sexto [artículo], creer que es Salvador (“The sixth [article], to believe that He is the Saviour”). On the right is the numeral 6; then God with the cross in one hand and in the other the spear (which made the wound in His side). Section 4. El séptimo [artículo], creer que es Glorificador (“The seventh [article], to believe that He is the Glorifier”). On the right is, first, the hieroglyph “article”; then the numeral. On the left is the head of a priest—not of God, for the bearded face is represented with plain hair, without the massive halo. In the middle of the division are two thick, black figures, like iron bolts, symbols employed below to express the idea of commandment. This is clearly intended to represent the priest filled with the Holy Ghost, who regulates the life of the parish. Section 5. Los [artículos] que pertenecen á la Santa Humanidad de nuestro Señor Jesucristo son los [siete] siguientes (“Those [articles] which appertain to the holy humanity of our Lord Jesus Christ, are the [seven] following”). The picture shows us first at the right a figure which reminds us of the tufts of eagle’s down in the old manuscripts. I can not wholly explain it. It apparently serves here as a mark of separation. Then follows the numeral 7; then the cross and instruments of the passion, just as in section 3 of the first row. Section 6. El primero [artículo], creer que nuestro Señor Jesucristo en cuanto hombre fué concebido por obra del Espíritu Santo (“The first [article], to believe that our Lord Jesus Christ in so far as He was man, was conceived of the Holy Ghost”). The picture shows us to the right 1 (a circle); below it the hieroglyph “article”; then the Holy Ghost as a dove and, in a manner proceeding from it, the face of God, as heretofore. From this section on there is some confusion in the numeration. A new section ought to follow now with the numeral 2, and with what

is pictorially represented in the rest of section 6, for there now follows in the catechism: *El segundo [artículo], creer que nació de Santa Maria Virgen siendo ella virgen antes del parto, y despues del parto* ("The second [article], to believe that He was born of the Holy Virgin Mary, she being a virgin before and after His birth"). The picture shows us the Virgin Mary with a halo, and issuing from her body is God, as previously represented, but with the spear, the instrument of the passion, in his hand. But the numeral 2, which should be here, is in section 1 of the third row following.

The third row begins at the left: Section 1. *El tercero [artículo], creer que recibió muerte y pasion por salvar á nosotros pecadores* ("The third [article], to believe that He suffered and died to save us sinners"). The picture shows us first, on the left, the numeral 2, which really belongs in the second half of the preceding section; then God crucified, and then in the grave, marked by a cross, the corpse, recognizable by the closed eyes. Section 2. *El cuarto [artículo], creer que descendió á los infiernos y sacó las animas de los Santos Padres, que estaban esperando su santo advenimiento* ("The fourth [article], to believe that He descended into hell and brought out the souls of the holy fathers, who were abiding there in hope of His blessed coming"). First, on the left, is the numeral 3, which really belongs to the preceding section, and under it the hieroglyph "article". Then follows God with the cross in His right hand and before Him a short path, the two footprints of which lead into the wide-open jaws of a fiery monster, which represent the interior of the earth, or hell, quite after the manner of ancient Mexican symbolism. Within are to be seen the souls, represented by a heart, otherwise the dead, represented by heads with closed eyes. Section 3. *El quinto [artículo], creer que resuscitó al tercer dia de entre los muertos* ("The fifth [article], to believe that He rose again from the dead on the third day"). On the left is, first, the numeral 4, which really belongs in the previous section. Then comes the hieroglyph "article". On the right are the dead with fleshless ribs and closed eyes, and before them is God with the spear, the instrument of the passion, in His hand. In the center, a figure bent at right angles and twice doubled, which is probably meant to express the act of arising. Section 4. *El sexto [artículo], creer que subió á los cielos, y está sentado á la diestra de Dios Padre Todopoderoso* ("The sixth [article], to believe that He ascended into heaven, where He sitteth at the right hand of God, the Omnipotent Father"). The picture presents first, on the left, the numeral 5, which really belongs in the previous section. Then follows the face of God, and joined to this is a ladder leading up to the starry heavens. A hand from heaven points to a circle filled with network, which is apparently meant, like the similar figure in the fifth section (from the left) in the first row, to express the

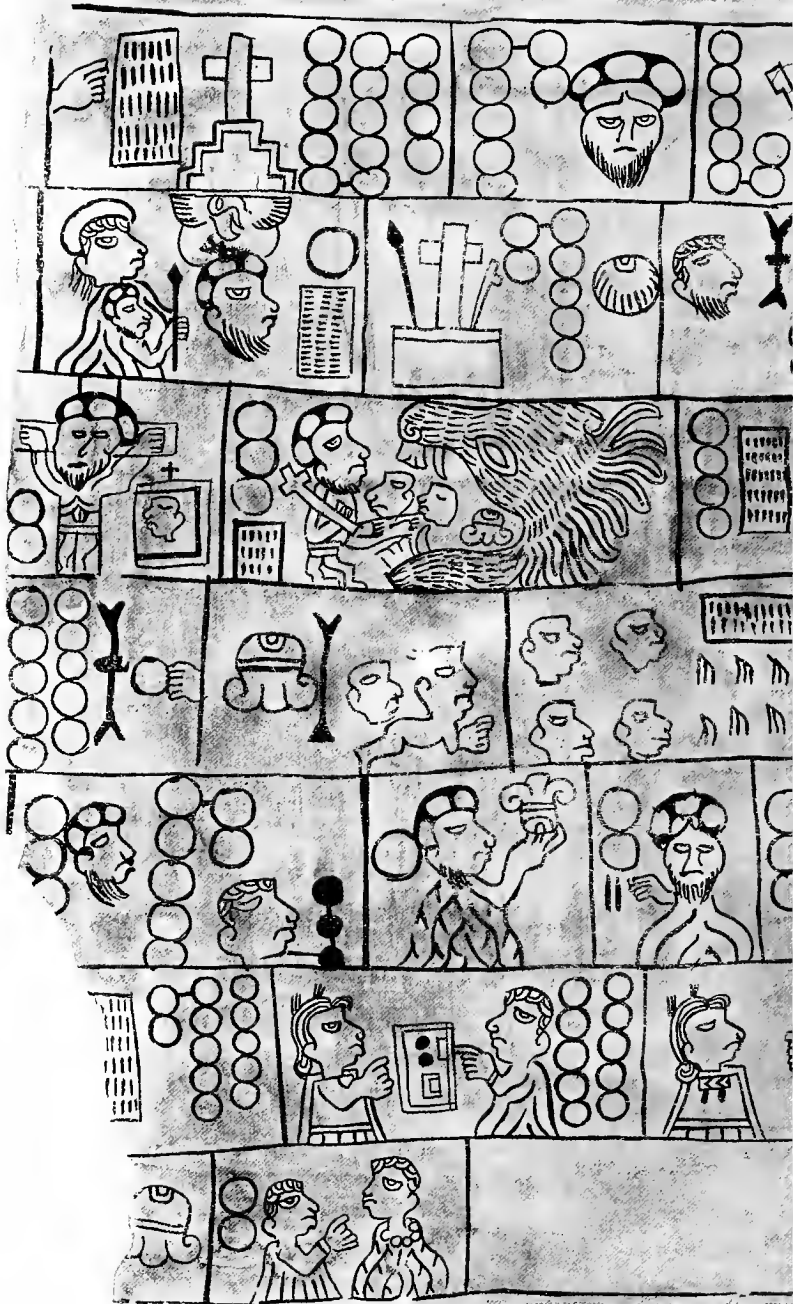
Omnipotent God. Section 5. El séptimo [artículo], creer que vendrá á juzgar á los vivos y á los muertos, etc. ("The seventh [article], to believe that He shall come to judge the quick and the dead"). On the left is, first, the numeral 6, which really belongs in the previous section. Then follows God with the sword, the symbol of justice, in His hand. Then followed, evidently, the dead in one square, and the living in another; but the edge is destroyed and very little more of the picture is now to be seen. The last words of explanation follow in the next row.

The fourth row begins at the right. Section 1. Conviene á saber, á los buenos, para darles gloria, porque guardaron sus Santos Mandamientos ("The good should know, to give them glory, because they kept His holy commandments"). First, on the right, is the numeral 7 and the hieroglyph "article", which really belong in the previous section. Then comes a house containing a man, behind whom is a sign like an ear of maize, which is used as below in the third commandment (row 5, section 6), as an expression for "receiving honor". The whole probably signifies a good man. Then follows a picture which I can not exactly explain, and this is followed by the bearded face of a priest who seems to proffer the same sign for "honoring". Sections 2 to 4. Y á los malos pena eterna, porque no los guardaron. Amén ("And to the wicked eternal punishment, because they kept them not. Amen"). Here I am not quite sure whether the first of these sections does not belong to the foregoing. On the right we see first a hand with a circle, which in section 5 seemed to indicate the beginning of a new chapter. Indeed, the whole fragment begins above, with a hand. Then follows the hieroglyph "article". Then comes a circle with a cross and a semicircular figure over it, which I can not explain. In the next section flames seem to be indicated, and farther on are the heads of the damned. In the next section we have a man prostrate on the ground, probably one of the damned, or the devil looking on. Then follow the black iron bolt and the inverted heart, which signifies souls in hell, as we have already seen in the representation of the jaws of the earth in the second section of the third row. With section 5 begins the new chapter, the ten commandments. The catechism begins with the words: Los mandamientos de la ley de Dios son diez ("The commandments of God's law are ten"). The picture shows us, first, on the right, a hand and a circle, which denotes the beginning of a chapter. Then follows the iron bolt, which possibly expresses the idea "commandment". Then the numeral 10.

The fifth row begins at the left: Section 1. Los tres primeros pertenecen al honor de Dios ("The first three appertain to the honor of God"). The picture shows the numeral 3 and the head of God

(with the massive, perforated halo). Section 2 (not separated from the preceding one by a line). *Y los otros siete al provecho del prógimo* ("And the other seven to the advantage of the neighbor"). The picture shows the numeral 7 and a human head, combined with three black balls or circles. I can not explain the latter. Can they mean coins to express *provecho*? Section 3. *El primero, amarás á Dios sobre todas las cosas* ("The first, thou shalt love God above all things"). The picture shows the numeral 1; then follows God, holding a heart in His hand. Section 4. *El segundo, no jurarás el nombre de Dios en vano* ("The second, thou shalt not take the name of God in vain"). The picture shows the numeral 2, with the picture of God, and on the right of the neck a hand pointing to two black marks. The symbolism is not clear to me. Section 5. *El tercero, santificarás las fiestas* ("The third, thou shalt keep holy the feasts"). The picture shows the numeral 3; then what seems to be an arrow well wrapped, which is probably meant to express "to keep, or hallow"; then a house with the priest inside the church. Section 6. *El cuarto, honrarás á tu padre y madre* ("The fourth, thou shalt honor thy father and mother"). The picture shows the numeral 4, followed by a man, the father, holding in his hand the symbol resembling an ear of maize, which we met with above as a symbol for "honor shown". In the middle stands the child, and on the right the mother, recognizable by the manner of wearing the hair with the knot low on the neck, the two hornlike braids standing up over the forehead, and the feminine garment (*uipilli*) something like a shirt, with the piece of insertion ornamented with tassels below the opening for the neck. Section 7. *El quinto, no matarás* ("The fifth, thou shalt not murder"). The picture shows on the left the numeral 5, then a man with a sword in his hand, and facing him a bearded man who stretches out his hand as if to ward off injury.

The sixth row begins at the right: Section 1. *El sexto, no fornicarás* ("The sixth, thou shalt not commit adultery"). To the right is the numeral 6, of which only a few faint traces remain; then follows the picture of a woman like the mother in the fourth commandment (row 5, section 6). Section 2. *El septimó, no hurtarás* ("The seventh, thou shalt not steal"). The picture represents the numeral 7 and a man fingering the lock of a door or a chest. Section 3. *El octavo, no levantarás falso testimonio, ni mentiras* ("The eighth, thou shalt not bear false witness or lie"). Here we have the numeral 8 and a man delivering a letter covered with black marks. Section 4. *El noveno, no desearás la muger de tu progimo* ("The ninth, thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife"). The picture shows the numeral 9 and a man stretching out his hand toward a woman opposite to him. Section 5. *El décimo, no codiciarás bienes ajenos* ("The tenth, thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's goods"). This picture shows the



numeral 10 and a man stretching out his hand to the objects opposite to him, the lock of a door or chest and a woman. Section 6. Estos diez mandamientos se encierran en dos ("These ten commandments may be comprised in two"). The picture shows the numeral 10, and joined to it by a line the numeral 2; then follows the hieroglyph "article".

The seventh and last row begins at the left: Section 1. En servir y amar á Dios sobre todas las cosas ("To serve and love God above all other things"). On the left may have been the picture of God. The picture of the heart is still visible here, as in the first commandment (row 5, section 3), expressing the idea of love. Section 2. Y á tu progimo como á ti mismo ("And thy neighbor as thyself"). The picture shows the numeral 2 and then two men, to express neighborly love.

We have been able to prove, or to make it seem probable, that most of the manuscripts in our collection once belonged to the great collection of the Cavaliere Boturini, which he was forced to leave behind him in Mexico when he was released from prison. Does this also hold good in regard to this manuscript of religious import, the last in our collection? Boturini enumerates in section 25 of the catalogue of his Museo Indiano the following manuscripts of religious character:

1. A manuscript of 11 pages on European paper, whose authorship he ascribes to Padre Sahagun. This now belongs to the Aubin-Goupil collection. Two pages of it are published on plate 78 of the Goupil-Boban atlas.

2. A manuscript on agave paper, which he describes as follows: Otro pedazo de mapa con figuras y cifras en papel Indiano. Demuestra parte de dichos misterios; i. e., de nuestra Santa Fé ("Another fragment of a map, with illustrations and numbers, on Indian paper, shows part of the said mysteries, that is, of our holy faith").

3. A manuscript of 4 pages on European paper with interlinear explanations in Otomí, además de las figuras y cifras, unos pocos venglones en lengua Otomí ("besides figures and pictures, a few lines in the Otomí language"). This manuscript now exists in the Aubin-Goupil collection. Two pages are reproduced in plate 76 of the Goupil-Boban atlas.

4. Un librito en papel Europeo de 48 fojas chiquitas. Explica con toscas figuras, y cifras la dicha Doctrina ("a small book on European paper, of 48 tiny pages. Explains the said doctrine in rude pictures and figures"). This manuscript is also in the Aubin-Goupil collection. Two pages are reproduced in plate 77 of the Goupil-Boban atlas. The figures are there provided with explanations in Nahuatl.

Of the four manuscripts of a religious character owned by Boturini, the fourth, which Boturini mentions under number 2, has not

thus far been found, but the description of this manuscript agrees perfectly with our manuscript, fragment XVI (plate xx1). For our manuscript is also written on agave paper, and in the representations the numerals alongside the pictures are very conspicuous. I therefore deem it not only possible, but highly probable, that our fragment XVI is the manuscript described by Boturini, number 2, section 25.

Our manuscript, inferior as it is to the paintings of the old pagan time, is nevertheless superior to the manuscripts of a religious character in the Aubin-Goupil collection by reason of a certain vigorous style. I am under the impression that the Aubin-Goupil picture catechisms were executed by European priests, but that the old aboriginal Indian training is evident in the drawing of our fragment XVI (plate xx1).

CONCLUSION

The 16 (properly 14) picture manuscripts in the Alexander von Humboldt collection, however limited the contents of the separate fragments (excepting the first one) present a good synopsis of the various styles and of the various purposes for which it became necessary to employ hieroglyphs in old pagan and early Christian times. They are not only of archeologic interest and of interest in the history of civilization, but some of them, as we have seen, are also of positive historic value; for, as I have shown, it seems possible to establish a firm chronologic basis only by acting on the indications offered by fragment I of our collection. Some fragments, namely, I, III, and IV (plate II to VI, VIII, and IX), belong to the old pagan period. Others certainly originated in early Christian times: VI (plate XI) is to be attributed to a period prior to A. D. 1545; II (plate VII), before A. D. 1565; XIII (plate XVII) bears the date 1569; VII (plate XII), the date 1571, and the other fragments also can not be much later than these. As for the place where they originated, I can unfortunately say nothing positive in regard to I (plates II to VI); III (plate VIII) and IV (plate IX) came from Huamantla, in the state of Tlaxcallan; II (plate VII) came from the immediate neighborhood of the Mexican capital; while VI (plate XI) and VIII (plate XIV) are from the kingdom of Tezcuco; VII, XII, XIII, and XVIII, from Mizquiyauallan, in the land of the Otomí; and XIV (plate XIX) possibly from the kingdom of the Chalcas. Several of the manuscripts seem to express plainly the differences which existed among the Mexican-speaking races in spite of all their similarity in civilization, mode of living, and ways of thinking, and they are otherwise very instructive, as we have seen.

Our great countryman, whose field of labor lay in quite another domain, rescued these fragments from among a number of documents, which at the time were the prey of chance in Mexico. Since then

they have lain among other manuscript treasures in the Royal Library, little noticed, or, more correctly speaking, seldom used. It is partly owing to facts that have only very recently become known that I have been able to make these fragments divulge some portion of their contents.

Last year we celebrated the four hundredth anniversary of the day on which Columbus, the discoverer of America, first set foot in the New World, and within a few years we can celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of the day on which the scientific discoverer of the New World, Alexander von Humboldt, began his travels on that continent. May this volume, which is the first attempt at treating of the only one of his collections hitherto untreated, be not wholly unworthy of the great name which it bears on the title page.

